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*The Department of State*

# bulletin

Vol. XXIV, No. 614

April 9, 1951

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VOL. XXIV, No. 614 • PUBLICATION 4174

April 9, 1951

*The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.*

*Publications of the Department, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.*

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents  
U.S. Government Printing Office  
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:  
52 issues, domestic \$7.50, foreign \$10.25  
Single copy, 20 cents

The printing of this publication has  
been approved by the Director of the  
Bureau of the Budget (July 29, 1949).

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## Address by President Auriol of France to the Congress of the United States

*The following is the text of an address made on April 2 by Vincent Auriol, President of the French Republic, to the Congress of the United States. The address was released to the press jointly by the Embassy of France and the Department of State on April 2.*

[Translation]

I am deeply moved by the exceptional honor you are rendering me in allowing me to appear before this Assembly and to address you from this glorious rostrum. It will touch the heart of the people of France to whom, through me, this homage and this warm welcome are directed.

I am the more deeply moved that my visit is the first one made by a President of the French Republic, in the name of France to the Republic of the United States and that it recalls to me two historic visits to our country made by two of your illustrious statesmen: Benjamin Franklin in 1776, and, a century and a half later, after the First World War, President Wilson.

It gives me an opportunity to pay tribute to your heroic young men who under the command of their glorious leaders twice rushed to our ravaged country to share with our own sons in the fight.

These memories illustrate our common history, and this history already long and always friendly is a history of freedom.

In recalling these memories in the presence of the Congress of the great American democracy, I want to express our constant and heartfelt sympathy to all the families whose sons have died for our common ideal and are resting forever in French soil, side by side with the sons of France and of the other Allied nations. Through you representing the 48 States of the Union, I wish to tell the American people of our grateful and loyal friendship and of our unshakable attachment to the great human principles France has always proclaimed—principles embodied both in your Declaration of Independence and in our Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, principles which, 3 years ago, after so many trials and contests, have received the unanimous consecration of the United Nations.

These sacred achievements of man which are not only the most precious values in our civilization but also the conditions for all future improvement, for all individual and social progress, are

today threatened—we are sorrowfully obliged to admit this—only 6 years after our two peoples made sacrifices never before equaled in history, for the attainment and organization of a just and tranquil peace.

Confronted with this situation, far different from what we had wanted and expected, with our security threatened, any nation worthy of her freedom must face reality and take stock of her own responsibilities. Today I have come to tell you what France thinks and what France seeks.

Gentlemen, you are the representatives of a people who insist upon truth. Your opinions are based on facts and your judgments on acts and not on words.

This is why I will ask you this question: When in the defense of her independence and the sacred cause of liberty a nation has lost, 357,000 men from 1914 to 1918, 575,000 dead from 1939 to 1945—(240,000 perished in uniform in the first and the last battles for freedom—112,000 were shot or were killed by bombing—182,000 died deported to Germany for belonging to the underground, and 40,000 died in enemy labor camps); when, for the same cause, the same nation, fighting at the door to Southeastern Asia, in Indochina, a war which has

[Released to the press by the White House  
March 29]

The President of the French Republic outlined to the President of the United States conditions in France, the progress of the French rearmament program and the present situation in Indochina where French forces and the forces of the Associated States (of Indochina) are successfully opposing Communist aggression.

The remarks of the President of the French Republic included a statement that the French people were determined to defend themselves against foreign aggression and that, in this spirit, they are giving all out support to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He emphasized that all these efforts were directed toward the maintenance and strengthening of peace.

The President of the United States stated that he was encouraged by President Auriol's remarks and expressed his confidence that peace could and would be maintained and that the democratic peoples would preserve unshakable unity in pursuit of their great objective; peace for all the world.



lasted more than 4 years, does not hesitate to reaffirm her faith in international law by sending to Korea officers and men whose heroism makes them the worthy comrades of your officers and men; then I ask you, who could seriously question her determination? In fact, what nation has ever proved better her love for independence and for peace and her will to defend both?

The attitude which has been given the barbarous name of "neutralism" has always been foreign to the French soul, not only because it is a moral absurdity—can anyone be neutral between servitude and liberty, between good and evil?—but because it is geographical and historical nonsense. Our people have experienced the frailty of their exposed land and sea frontiers. Almost alone in 1914 and again in 1939 they have met the first shock of armies so powerful that each time it has taken 4 years of ceaseless effort and a coalition of the world's forces to defeat them. Therefore they know that right without might is powerless. They know that isolation is death. They know that neutrality, whether declared, armed or disarmed, has protected neither Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway nor Denmark and that an aggressor would never stop at a frontier post, even should it be surmounted with a dove holding the branch of an olive tree!

Finally, they know that France is not simply the western extremity of Europe in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, but that the French Union extends its influence and civilization to all parts of the world and that in the common strategy for freedom and peace, France has courageously accepted the tasks and responsibilities of a great world power. They know also that once France has fallen, the whole of Europe will be in chains with all her potential strength in the service of the invader and that the whole world, indeed civilization itself, will be in mortal danger.

I shall always remember the clear warning when, in 1919, as a young deputy, I heard it stated from the rostrum of our own Parliament by the President of the United States that France still stands at the frontier.

... here is where the blow fell because the rulers of the world did not sooner see how to prevent it ... they know that the only way to do this is to make it certain that the same thing will not always happen that has happened this time, that there never shall be any doubt or waiting or surmise, but that whenever France or any free people is threatened, the whole world will be ready to vindicate its liberty ...

Because they did not establish this union in time, because they did not organize soon enough and at the most vulnerable points a collective defense prepared for instant action, the democratic nations with their decisions delayed by the interplay of their institutions or by the scruples and indiscipline of freedom were once more thrown into the most destructive of wars. One after the other, nations fell which would have been saved had they joined their forces. And France herself

who entered the fight faithful to her word, was wounded on the ramparts, imprisoned for 4 years and almost destroyed.

If our people had given up, if for a single moment they had hesitated between resistance and collaboration with the enemy, if they had not been willing to subject themselves to an implacable oppression, had not chosen to destroy, often with their own hands, their properties and their tools, rather than work for the enemy, if they had permitted him at times when the fortunes of war were in the balance to have a free disposition of their remaining resources and forces in Metropolitan France and in her overseas territories, what would Europe and the world be today?

After such common fights and sacrifices, the achievement of the final victory must not make us forget the perils to which we were led by an uncoordinated diplomacy and strategy. It is the very old story of the Horatii and the Curiatii. For the goal to be reached is not to liberate a Europe which may once more be occupied, enslaved, exploited and ravaged and whose name, you may be sure, would only recall the final ruin of a civilization, but rather, by shielding her against aggression, to protect the whole community of the free nations and in this way to save peace.

In putting into practice an effective union, in which risks as well as efforts must be shared, France has a clear understanding of her duties and of her rights.

Her contribution to the defense of freedom and of peace is first of all her own recovery.

Undoubtedly, Gentlemen, our people are sometimes disparaged and they are sometimes guilty of self-disparagement. But those of you whom we have had the joy of welcoming in our country have been able to see the road covered since the liberation.

In 1944, the country was bled white, the state disrupted, 90 percent of our departments were in ruins, our lands were laid fallow, our industrial equipment was pillaged or obsolete, our ports, our means of communication were in shambles, more than two million houses were destroyed or damaged, our economy and our finances were ruined.

In 1951, there is an increased population, republican institutions are reestablished, our production has been raised to the level of 133 as compared with a 100 in 1938, our commercial balance is in equilibrium and our currency stabilized before the rise in prices of raw materials could compromise the equilibrium thus gradually attained, our homes have been built again and the specter of social troubles and of despair has been pushed aside.

Gentlemen, it is with pride that I speak of the accomplishments of our workers, of our engineers, of our leaders of enterprise, of our farmers, of our administrators, of all Frenchmen and of their representatives. The generous aid that you have given us through the Marshall Plan, for which I am happy to thank you today publicly, has not been extended to us in vain. In giving a decisive



impulse to our paralyzed economy, it has again opened for us the way to work and to hope, and by driving away the threat of unemployment and misery, it has preserved us from those social upheavals which are the breeding ground for adventure and tyranny.

Though a great deal remains to be done, this first balance sheet of our recovery testifies to the courage of our people, supported by your brotherly assistance.

Our next contribution to the cause of freedom and peace is our rearmament effort which our Parliament has voted by a huge majority without hesitation or reservations. This has been done in spite of the already enormous burden of our reconstruction and reequipment and of our military expenditures. It is certainly not the fault of our two nations if world collective security has not been organized, though we consider this failure as merely temporary. The spirit of aggression is foreign to both Americans and Frenchmen. But in the face of threats of totalitarian expansion and the formation of certain mighty groups of powers whose policies and armaments are not subject to the free control of the people, we have turned thoughtfully and inflexibly to regional pacts and especially to the regional pact of the North Atlantic which, conforming to the statutes of the United Nations, has but one aim—to deter aggression and to strengthen the peace. Thus, by our reciprocal undertakings that we shall from now on pool together our resources of arms and troops at all threatened and strategic points, we have made the Atlantic community a solid foundation of our common security and of peace.

For us, indeed, the effort for peace and the effort for defense are not contradictory; they complement each other. With the prudence and firmness dictated by our said experience, we shall never cease to answer negation, procedural obstructionism and propaganda in the language of right, of truth and of sincerity.

Let us not fail to speak clearly, frankly and firmly. Let us put at the service of peace and freedom, side by side with our material forces as long as those are needed, the invincible moral forces which always animate free people aware of the righteousness of their cause.

We shall not tire, on our part, of repeating the conditions that are necessary for the reestablishment of trust and cooperation among all peoples. Does everyone sincerely want peace? In that case, everyone must respect the commitments subscribed to in the Charter of the United Nations by all the allies of yesterday; in that case, certain countries must stop interfering in the internal affairs of others in an effort to weaken their freely chosen regimes, to provoke troubles, to paralyze production and to pour daily insults upon their Governments.

In that case, international and permanent control by the United Nations Organization of armaments, of all armaments, in all countries, must be

accepted, in order to limit fairly and later to destroy all classic or atomic weapons.

In that case, the national armies must be progressively replaced by a United Nations army as provided by the common Charter.

In that case, every country must agree to the free movement of wealth, ideas, and persons as well as the free and sincere expression of view, under international control of peoples on whom regimes have been imposed by force.

Here are, among so many others, the questions to which answers must be found. And so that they may be answered clearly, I am asking them here, clearly and publicly, before the Legislature of a great nation which is ridiculously accused every day, as is ours, of warmongering, and I am certain that I speak in the name of all the men who want peace with liberty, the only peace worth living for.

Finally, our effort to unite and organize Europe must be considered a contribution to the defense of peace and liberty by all who believe that it is not sufficient to guarantee the security of nations and of individuals but that we must also, by assuring welfare and justice, enrich their existence and increase their attachment to society.

France is working toward this goal by the creation of communities of production of which the coal and steel pool, that bears the name of its moving spirit, President Schuman, is but a beginning and a preface for others that we are preparing. France is working toward this goal through the Council of Europe and the Strasbourg Assembly which she initiated. She is working toward it in seeking the formation of a European army—the nucleus of a future international army—to take its place, first of all, in the great Atlantic army whose illustrious leader General Eisenhower I wish to salute here today.

Passionately devoted to the realization of a European federation which will put on end to secular antagonisms, France has put aside her legitimate resentment against the enemy of yesterday, demanding of it only that it bring to the cause of cooperation the admission of its responsibilities as well as the proof of its redemption through the repudiation of its old regime and the sincere attachment to the cause of democracy. Convinced of the need for supranational institutions, France has declared herself prepared to grant to those bodies, in conformity with her Constitution and under condition of reciprocity, part of her sovereignty. And she hopes to convince the still hesitant nations that they will not curtail their sovereignty but on the contrary strengthen it by associating it with others, by uniting their resources and labor to increase their forces, by developing and coordinating their industrial and agricultural economies, by widening their markets, by raising the standard of living of their workers, in a word, by making of the old divided Europe, slow of decision, torn with antagonisms,

*(Continued on page 575)*

## FOURTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF AMERICAN STATES

### Cooperation in World Struggle for Freedom

*Address by the President<sup>1</sup>*

It is an honor to open this meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics. I am happy to extend to you a wholehearted welcome to our country and to our capital city. On behalf of the United States, I hope that this will be a most satisfactory and successful meeting.

This is the fourth meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics. This meeting, like the earlier ones, is held at a time of international danger. When the first meeting was held, in 1939, war had just broken out in Europe. As that conflict spread to nation after nation and threatened to extend to all parts of the world, the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics held two more meetings, in 1940 and in 1942, to plan a common course of action against the common danger.

As a result of our concerted efforts, our countries did not become a theater of war. The nations of this hemisphere succeeded in protecting the American continents from invasion. And, as a result of our common efforts, the people of the Americas were able to contribute power and resources which turned the tide against aggression and brought victory to the forces of freedom.

Today, we meet again to consider our common defense. We meet again to work out ways and means by which our united strength may be employed in the struggle for freedom throughout the world.

#### The Heritage of Common Principles

The American republics all owe their national beginnings to the same set of ideals—the same concepts of human and international freedom. We

have all followed and we will continue to follow two basic principles. First, we believe that international affairs should be based upon cooperation among free and independent nations, and not upon coercion or force. Second, we believe that the aim and purpose of government is to promote the welfare of all the people—not just the privileged few.

These principles have long been the basis of relations among the American Republics. The same principles are now embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, where they have become the foundation of a new society of nations. The statesmen of the American Republics have shown their continuing devotion to these principles by the great and constructive work they have done in creating and strengthening the United Nations.

Today, these principles are under relentless attack from a center of power which denies the whole concept of human freedom—whether it be spiritual freedom, or economic freedom, or political freedom.

#### World Threat of Soviet Expansion

Communist imperialism attacks and undermines national independence and international cooperation. In their place, it substitutes the rule of force. Communist imperialism also seeks to destroy the system of government that serves the welfare of the people. Instead, it sets up a system under which the people exist only to serve the purposes of the government. As a result, the Soviet system is one of unbridled power, imposing slavery at home and aggression abroad.

The aggressive expansion of Soviet power threatens the whole world. In Europe, we see it trying to engulf the nations from which we have drawn our cultural heritage. If Soviet subversion and Soviet armed force were to overthrow these nations, the consequences for all of us in the Western Hemisphere would be disastrous. We would

<sup>1</sup> Made before the opening session of the Fourth Consultative Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics at Washington on Mar. 26 and released to the press by the White House on the same date.

lose those cultural and religious ties which mean so much to us. The international trade on which we are so dependent would be violently disrupted. Worst of all, we would be confronted by a hostile power on the shores of the Atlantic, capable of using the great economic resources of our conquered friends to strike across the ocean at our own independence.

We must not and will not let that happen. We in the Western Hemisphere must help the free men of Europe who are resisting Soviet expansion.

In the Far East, Communist imperialism presents us with another threat. There, we see many new nations emerging, as our own countries once did, from colonial status to full independence. For these new nations, we of the Western Hemisphere have the greatest feeling of fellowship. But Communist imperialism has fallen upon these new nations with its weapons of internal subversion and external attack. It seeks to overpower them before they are strong enough to stand alone.

If Soviet communism were to be successful in this venture, it would be a terrible blow to the bright promise of the principles of freedom and peace which we uphold. The great manpower of Asia would become one of the instruments of the aggressive expansion of the Soviet system toward our own hemisphere.

Both to the East, therefore, and to the West, we are confronted by great perils. Our future progress, our very survival, lie in the defense of the world order of free nations of which we are a part. Our very existence depends upon the success of those principles which our countries stand for, and which we have supported in the United Nations. There is no safety for any of us in abandoning these principles. There will be no security in the world without the United Nations. Powerful and productive as the Western Hemisphere is, we cannot make it safe by building a wall around it.

Instead of withdrawing into our hemisphere in a hopeless attempt to find security through retreat, we must concert our defenses and combine our strength in order to support men in Europe and Asia who are battling for freedom. That is the only course that can lead to security or peace or freedom for us or for men anywhere in the world.

Recognition of this fact lies behind the aid the United States has given to the rebuilding of Europe. It lies behind the struggle the free nations are now waging in the hills of Korea. The resistance of the United Nations to aggression in Korea—a resistance that has the firm approval of all the nations represented here—is of momentous importance. It has shown that the free nations are determined to defend their ideals of national independence and human welfare.

The issue in Korea is the survival of the principles on which we have built our countries. The principle of national independence and self-government is at stake there, as well as the principle that government shall be for the welfare of the

people. If justice and order do not prevail in Korea, they will be in danger everywhere.

Heroic sacrifices are being made in Korea to check the forces of aggression and protect us against the terrible destruction and vastly greater sacrifices of a world conflict. By standing firm in Korea and by preparing to meet aggression elsewhere, we are doing our best to prevent a third world war.

#### **Steps To Establish World Peace**

This meeting in Washington, therefore, must consider not only what should be done to improve the defense of this hemisphere but also what measures we can best undertake to support and strengthen the United Nations in its effort to establish world peace.

We meet here as a region which has already, in the solemn treaty of Rio de Janeiro, announced its intention to defend itself through cooperative action. We are pledged to resist the common foe.

We must now plan as a primary task for the strengthening and the coordinated use of our defense forces in this hemisphere. We must also consider how we may best use our strength to support the cause of freedom against aggression throughout the world.

The success of our defense program depends upon our economic strength. In these troubled times, defense production must have prior claim upon our economic resources. We shall have to increase the production of strategic materials. We shall have to divert manufacturing capacity to defense purposes.

These necessities will create many difficult practical problems for our countries to solve. There will be shortages of basic materials and other commodities. There will be limitations on certain kinds of capital expansion.

The first step in solving these problems is to face them in a spirit of cooperation. We must recognize that we are engaged, as good neighbors, in a common enterprise that is vital to our survival as free and democratic nations. We must establish the principle of sharing our burdens fairly. We must act together to meet essential civilian needs, and, at the same time, we must act together to be sure that scarce supplies are limited to essential uses. We must try to prevent wild and speculative price movements in our international trade, whether in raw materials or manufactured products.

Our defense needs are not, of course, limited to the things that go into the making of weapons. We need to build up our economic strength in a much broader way. It is essential to our security that we constantly enlarge our economic capacity. Our defense needs include, in many areas, more food, better education, and better health services. They include, in certain cases, the building of roads, dams, or power plants.

We must remember that the real strength of the



free nations lies in the will and determination of their peoples. The free nations stand for economic progress and social advancement. They grow in strength by going forward along the road of greater economic opportunity for all.

Over the last 10 years, our countries have made great economic progress. In most of the countries represented here, national income is at least twice what it was in 1939.

An important factor in our advance is the program of technical cooperation which we have joined together to carry out. Joint projects for spreading technical knowledge have already made notable achievements in improving the health, education, and living standards of our people. We intend to press on with this kind of activity.

The American Republics are full of breath-taking possibilities for future economic development. These possibilities can be made realities only if we work and plan together for a long time ahead. I like to think, for example, of the possibility of developing vast areas of wilderness, such as the eastern slopes of the Andes, and turning them into new and fertile farm land.

I like to think of a project about which I talked to the President of Chile, which contemplates the diversion of water from those high mountain lakes between Bolivia and Peru for making a garden on the coast of South America to the west for Chile and Peru, and in return, giving Bolivia a seaport on the Pacific.

I had a very pleasant conversation with the President of Chile on that subject, and I like to think of the development of the Parana, Paraguay, and Uruguay rivers. Think that wonderful possibilities are in those great waterways for development, and those are only samples, for all over the continent of South America there are greater resources undeveloped than were ever in these United States of America. And I know that we can develop them for the welfare of the whole world, as well as for ourselves.

I like to think of the possibilities of industrial development in your countries. I remember with pride the part which this country played, even during the troubled times of the last war, in helping to create a steel industry in Brazil. I think with satisfaction of the progress that has been made by Chile and other countries in setting up factories and hydroelectric projects in recent years.

Our countries do not have unlimited resources to devote to creative developments such as these. We cannot do as much, in the midst of a defense emergency, as we could in normal times. But we must do all we can.

#### **Our Goal—A Better World**

It is the genius of our democratic type of society that we are constantly creative and constantly advancing. We hold out to all people the prospect of bettering their condition, not in the dim

#### **Agenda**

[Approved by the Council of the Organization on February 7 and 14, 1951]

I. Political and military cooperation for the defense of the Americas, and to prevent and repel aggression, in accordance with inter-American agreements and with the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of that organization.

II. Strengthening of the internal security of the American Republics.

III. Emergency economic cooperation:

a) Production and distribution for defense purposes.

b) Production and distribution of products in short supply and utilization of necessary services to meet the requirements of the internal economies of the American Republics; and measures to facilitate in so far as possible the carrying out of programs of economic development.

future, not after some terrible and bloody upheaval, but steadily through the years, in the simple activities of their daily life.

In our countries, we do not measure our prosperity by the power of the state. We do not measure the progress of our society in terms of military might. We do not measure our advancement in terms of the profits or the luxuries of the few. Our yardstick is the welfare of the many. We think in terms of the average man—how he lives, what he can buy, and the freedom he enjoys. These are the standards by which we measure our development.

And, by these standards, we are marching steadily forward. We shall continue that march!

Our vision of progress is not limited to our own countries. We extend it to all the peoples of the world.

We know that people are very much alike in their basic aspirations, wherever they may be or whatever language they may speak. We recognize that the people of Russia, the people of the Soviet satellite states, are very much like us in what they want for themselves and their children. We hope that some day they will find it possible to turn their leaders from their present path of tyranny and aggression.

Our goal is self-development, not imperialism.

Our goal is peace, not war.

Our goal, not only for ourselves but for all peoples, is a better world—materially, morally, and spiritually.

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EDITOR'S NOTE: João Neves de Fontoura, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United States of Brazil then replied to President Truman. For text of a translation of the Foreign Minister's address, see news release 2, March 26, of the Fourth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American States.

## Freedom—the Key to Hemisphere Solidarity and World Peace

*Address by Secretary Acheson<sup>1</sup>*

I look forward with considerable pleasure to the prospect of working closely together with my colleagues of the Americas in this important meeting.

Our distinguished Brazilian colleague, Minister Neves da Fontoura, has already eloquently set before us the significance of this meeting in terms of our long inter-American tradition. That tradition dates back to the first International Conference of the American States to which this country had the honor to be host 60 years ago. Since then we have managed, by our determination, to preserve and greatly strengthen our freedom in spite of all perils.

More than that, we have built up a brotherhood of nations that time has tested. In the course of the decades, the foundations of our system have had time to set. Can anyone doubt that the men who worked to bring us together in the first Washington Conference would find their vision more than vindicated by the great Organization of American States as it exists today?

The significance of this meeting is appreciated, I believe, by free men all over the world.

It rests not alone on the work we have come together to do, as important as that is to our future and to theirs. Even more important than this is the fraternal way in which the American Republics have grown accustomed to working together.

We meet freely. We talk frankly, as people who understand each other and like each other. We have problems between us, and some of them are difficult. But there are no problems between us that will not yield to the good will and friendship we all bring to this meeting.

It is our hope that our consultations here and our cooperative actions will have a dual effect.

We hope that what we do here will produce sound and constructive results. We hope also—

indeed we know—that this meeting, as a demonstration of the kind of friendship among nations which may someday prevail universally, will convey inspiration and encouragement to men everywhere.

### Partnership of the Free World

The larger significance of our meeting arises from the fact that we are a part, inescapably, of the partnership of the free world.

What is the partnership of the free world? It is something new in the world, and its meaning should be made clear to all.

Is it an alliance, like those which crisscrossed Europe in the last century? No, it is not like the old alliances, because it is not directed against anyone, nor does it aspire to rule or to conquest.

Is it a sphere of influence arrangement or a satellite system? No, it most assuredly is not, for no rulers in a master state dictate to the free nations.

The partnership of the free world is something different from any of these. It is a spiritual confederation of peoples as well as nations. It is a partnership which encompasses many differences. The states in it do not all have the same political or social institutions. They do not conform to any standard pattern. They do not have a single "way of life."

Each has its own set of hopes and anxieties, its own domestic problems, its own national traditions and desires.

What binds the nations of the free world together into a partnership is that they have a powerful interest in common: their concern for freedom.

Freedom is the key. This is what free nations have, and other nations do not. This is the heart of the matter, for without freedom, neither real peace, nor real security, nor any real progress is possible.

To the nation, freedom means national independence, freedom to work out its destinies in its own ways.

<sup>1</sup>Made before the opening regular session of the fourth meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States at Washington on Mar. 27 and released to the press on the same date.

To the people, freedom is not only the very breath of life itself but it is also the gateway of opportunity. Free men have the opportunity to better their lives, to abolish poverty, and to live in human dignity.

Freedom is the climate in which men can work to fulfill all the affirmative aspirations and values of their lives.

When people ask us, "What is it you are for, you men of the free world?" Then we say, "We're for freedom, because freedom is the key to everything else we want."

Where there is freedom, we can make peace prevail, we can govern ourselves the way we want, we can improve our land and grow more food. We can live side by side with people who think differently, who worship differently, who talk a different language—so long as they and we are both free, we have that one important thing in common.

This is not to say that any of us has fully realized our ideals of a free society. Our progress toward this goal is not always even, from week to week, or from month to month. But it is the ideal and the objective toward which, over the decades and the generations, we have been moving steadily forward.

#### **The Communist Threat to Freedom**

And now this freedom of ours is faced with a mortal threat.

The small group of men who rule the Soviet Union and pull the strings of the international Communist movement have a doctrine which is opposed to freedom.

Their doctrine is a blueprint for a Communist world, governed from the Kremlin.

This is the new imperialism. Its instruments are a formidable machine of war and the international Communist movement. With one or the other, and sometimes both, the new imperialism reaches out for more power and for rule over more people.

Never before have we faced a menace of this magnitude. Never before has there been so great a challenge to our determination to preserve our independence as nations.

But it is not only against the independence of governments that this new imperialism is directed. The freedom of people, of the individual man, is also its target.

Although the Communists have played upon the hopes of people for a better life, they have in practice been the enemies of progress. The new imperialists have contributed nothing but propaganda to the great cooperative efforts to improve standards of living among the peoples of the world. Instead, they use human misery as a political tool, callous to the cost.

This is the threat which jeopardizes freedom. It is a threat which has for us the greatest urgency, a threat which calls upon us as people and as nations to defend our freedom.

It calls upon us for action now.

No free man anywhere can safely disregard this threat. There is no free nation anywhere, large or small, whose freedom is secure. Freedom does not come in different sizes. Large states do not have more of it, nor small states less, according to their size. The defense of freedom is an obligation which falls upon all who are worthy of it.

And it is in this sense that the partnership of the free world is a spiritual confederation among those who value their freedom, and each, according to his capacity, will do his utmost to defend it.

This is the meaning of the great effort which the free nations are making. Its purpose is to assemble sufficient force to make it plain in advance that further aggression will not succeed.

In the face of the challenge of the new imperialism, the rapid increase of this deterrent force is the only real road to peace—the kind of peace in which the survival and growth of our free institutions will be possible.

The task is a great one. To perform it, each must do his full share. We are well begun, but the greater part lies still ahead of us.

#### **Progress in the Defense of Freedom**

In Korea, the principle of collective security has been put to the test. It has stood the test. Aggression has not been allowed to succeed. This is a history-making battle, a landmark, we may hope, on the road to world peace.

The forces of the United Nations are fighting a battle which is of vital significance to the security of all free nations. The cause of freedom owes a great debt to the men of many lands who are bearing arms in Korea and making heavy sacrifices under the banner of the United Nations. And the lessons learned in the defense of Korea should enable the United Nations to develop a collective security system that will be better prepared to meet aggression in the future, if it occurs.

Heartening progress is also being made in another sector in the defense of freedom: in recent months, major steps have been taken toward strengthening the defenses of free Europe. The work that is now going forward to build an integrated and effective defense organization under General Eisenhower contributes to the security of this hemisphere.

It is a happy and a significant coincidence that the visit of the President of France, M. Auriol, to this country comes while this meeting is in progress and that we shall have the pleasure of hearing him address this assembly. This fortunate circumstance symbolizes to the world the relationship between our efforts in this hemisphere and those of our brothers in Europe, in behalf of our common aspirations for peace and freedom.

#### **Impact of Mobilization on Economy**

In this country, the mobilization of our strength is beginning to have a substantial impact upon our



economy and upon the lives of our citizens. By last week, the size of our armed forces had been doubled over the level that prevailed before the attack upon Korea, and many more young men and women are being called into military service.

Although total production is increasing, the requirements of defense are such that curtailment of many goods and services has been necessary. The burden of taxation is being heavily increased. We are seeking to hold in check the strong inflationary pressures which have been generated by the defense program.

It is our intention to prepare an economic base that will have the stamina to sustain this substantial defense program over as long a period as may be necessary, and which would be capable of further rapid expansion if war should be forced upon us.

The scale and complexity of this endeavor, side-by-side with the changes wrought throughout the hemisphere by the defense mobilization, inevitably creates many difficulties for us all.

We in the United States have been mindful of the many difficult questions raised for our neighbors of this hemisphere by our mobilization program.

Looking ahead to the intensification of this program in the future, it is evident that the closest working relationship must be established among all of us in the Americas in order that our common effort for our common defense may realize the best that is in all of us. Together, we must seek ways of avoiding any uncontrolled and unfair distribution of the sacrifices that our peoples face.

With this in mind, on the day that the United States entered upon its emergency program of economic and military preparedness, it made known its proposal that this emergency meeting of consultation be held.

We have before us, at this meeting, a realistic agenda that sets forth the questions to which we, the American Republics, must jointly find the answers.

We shall find these answers in the spirit of cooperation that is basic to our inter-American tradition. We are cooperators. Our great tradition illustrates the principle that the spirit of cooperation and the spirit of bargaining are mutually incompatible. They exclude each other. For in bargaining, each man tries to reap advantage for himself to the detriment of the man he deals with. It is the genius of our inter-American system—and the effectiveness of our defense rests on it—that mutual cooperation, instead, has been the means by which all have benefited.

This is the spirit with which we address ourselves to the problems on our agenda.

#### **Measures Necessary for Defense**

One question which each of us faces, in the light of our hemispheric position, is: In what way can each of us best develop our military capabilities

in order that we may have the most effective individual and collective self-defense against armed attack?

We may wish to consider measures which can be taken by our respective Governments to enable the Inter-American Defense Board to carry on its functions most efficiently and to prepare, at the earliest possible time, a coordinated defense for this hemisphere.

In considering the military defensive strength of the hemisphere, it is evident that any disturbances to the peaceful relations among the American Republics can only have the effect of weakening our total defensive capabilities. As part of the effort to bulwark our defenses against aggression, it may serve a useful purpose for us to strengthen our determination to make fullest use of available machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

In view of the effect upon our hemispheric security of the danger of aggression in other parts of the world, a related question requires our attention. That is, how we, the American Republics, can best support the United Nations in strengthening its capacity to deal with aggression.

The interests of the Republics of this hemisphere in the building of a world of law and order are greatly served by the progress which the United Nations has been making in strengthening its collective security system. The success of this effort depends upon our willingness to back up the United Nations.

Our deliberations here will measurably strengthen our common security if they lead to action on the part of the American Republics in helping to fulfill the purposes of the uniting-for-peace resolution of the United Nations.

The use of subversion and other forms of indirect aggression by the international Communist movement requires us, as a vital part of our defense program, to examine carefully our present internal security procedures and improve them where necessary.

It is equally important that we should consult as to the practical steps we may take, together and individually, to insure the maximum protection and strengthening of our basic democratic institutions. They are the heart of what we are seeking to defend against Communist undermining, and to safeguard these institutions, while we prevent their abuse, requires our constant vigilance.

These are some of the matters which are involved, either directly or indirectly, in strengthening our military security.

#### **Economic Problems**

The economic problems before us pervade our whole effort and touch upon the life of every individual in the hemisphere. We must gather up our joint economic forces for the common defense, not only in one country or some countries but throughout our interlocking economic community.

This means vital adjustments for all of us. These would fall to us even though some among us did not participate in our endeavor. For the sacrifices that the United States and its people are now making inevitably have their effect upon all whose economies are related to our own.

Are these effects, then, to fall indiscriminately and without control on peoples everywhere? Or are we going to provide, by cooperation, that the essential needs of all our peoples are met; that production for defense is pushed to a level which will serve to accomplish the purpose of averting a third world war; and that the sacrifice of unessentials is fairly distributed? The Government of the United States had this question very much in mind when it requested the convening of this meeting.

In this country, we are already allocating materials required for defense production so that they will be available only in limited quantities for normal civilian demands.

Your countries, I know, are also facing the problems of increased production for the defense of our hemisphere, production on which the survival of freedom for every one of us depends. In most cases, your chief problem is to effect emergency increases in the production of essential materials without, at the same time, inviting disaster when a more normal situation returns. The United States understands this problem. We do not underestimate it. Certainly, we must consider what practicable means there may be, within the terms of our great purpose, to deal with this risk together.

The problem of curbing inflation is no less important to each of our countries and to our common purpose. The danger of uncontrolled inflation in any country threatens its people. It also weakens the economic stability of the hemisphere as a whole. We must make the most strenuous effort together to take the steps that are necessary to keep inflationary tendencies under control. This must be done not only by international action but by each of our Governments within its own jurisdiction.

Undoubtedly, we shall not be able to foresee all the measures which our respective Governments will find it necessary to take in dealing with the economic defense program. As much as circumstances permit, we should endeavor to consult with one another and act cooperatively in this field, particularly, to our mutual and our common benefit.

In his address to the meeting yesterday, President Truman spoke of the concern felt by this country for the need of carrying forward the programs of economic cooperation.

It is my hope that we shall all continue to give as much support as we can to these measures by which our people are enabled to improve the conditions of their life.

The programs of economic development and

## **Pan American Day, 1951 <sup>1</sup>**

### **A PROCLAMATION**

WHEREAS April 14, 1951, will mark the sixty-first anniversary of the founding of the Pan American Union, which now serves as the General Secretariat of the Organization of American States; and

WHEREAS the Organization of American States has demonstrated its effectiveness in the maintenance of peace in the Western Hemisphere; and

WHEREAS the inter-American system may serve as an example of progress in the achievement of peace, security, and cooperation; and

WHEREAS the Fourth Meeting of Consultation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American States will convene at Washington on March 26, 1951, to consider action to be taken in the common defense of these republics and of the free world:

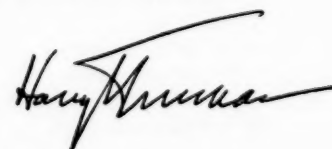
NOW, THEREFORE, I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Saturday, April 14, 1951, as Pan American Day, and I direct the appropriate officials of the Government to arrange for the display of the flag of the United States on all public buildings on that day.

I also invite the Governors of the States, Territories, and possessions of the United States to issue similar proclamations for the observance of Pan American Day. And I urge all interested organizations, and the people generally, to unite in suitable ceremonies commemorative of the founding of the Pan American Union, thereby testifying to the close bonds of friendship existing between the people of the United States and those of the other American republics.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this twenty-third day of March in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-one, and of the Independ-

[SEAL] ence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventy-fifth.



By the President:

DEAN ACHESON

Secretary of State.

<sup>1</sup> Proc. 2920, 16 Fed. Reg. 2697.

technical cooperation, in many ways, effectively support the emergency defense program. Such programs as those which increase food supply, combat disease, increase the output of materials in short supply, and improve working conditions and labor standards are of double importance in this period.

Insofar as we can, we must seek to fulfill both the immediate requirements of the defense program and our long-range objective of economic development and social progress.

### High Purpose of Meeting

We must always keep our goals in mind. While we work together here to find solutions for these difficult problems with which the rapid development of our political, economic, and military strength confronts us, we must never allow ourselves to forget the real nature of the endeavor which brings us together.

Our cause is above all the cause of freedom, of international morality. It is, therefore, the cause of peace, and of the well-being of man himself.

So that the world at large and our own peoples shall not mistake the greatness of our purpose, it is my hope that this historic meeting will create a declaration of the principles for which we stand and which we are determined to defend.

May our meeting send forth a beacon of hope and inspiration from the New World to all mankind.

## Draft Resolutions

### Project on Internal Security

Doc. 35  
Submitted Mar. 27, 1951

*Submitted by Bolivia, Ecuador, United States, and Uruguay*

The Fourth Meeting of Consultation of the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics

#### CONSIDERING:

That the American Republics at the Ninth International Conference of American States with specific reference to "the preservation and defense of democracy in America" resolved to adopt, within their respective territories and in accordance with their respective constitutional provisions, the measures necessary to eradicate and prevent activities directed, assisted or instigated by foreign governments, organizations or individuals tending to overthrow their institutions by violence, to foment disorder in their domestic political life, or to disturb, by means of pressure, subversive propaganda, threats or by any other means, the free and sovereign right of their peoples to govern themselves in accordance with their democratic aspirations;

That, to complement measures of mutual cooperation which may assure the defense as well as the economic and social well-being of the people, it is necessary to adopt laws and regulations for internal security;

That in their concern to combat the action of international communist imperialist action, they are deeply conscious of and desire to reaffirm their determination to preserve, strengthen and safeguard the basic democratic institutions of the peoples of the American Republics which the agents of international communist imperialism are attempting to abolish through the exploitation and abuse of the self same democratic freedoms which they seek to subvert;

That, within each of the American Republics there exists a vast body of laws laboriously worked out over generations, designed to assure its political defense;

That it is in accordance with the highest interests of the American Republics to assure that each of them may be able to meet the special and immediate threat of international communist imperialism;

That, since international communist imperialism recognizes no boundaries, the present emergency requires, in addition to strictly internal measures, a high degree of international cooperation among the American Republics, looking to the eradication of any threat of subversive activity menacing the free and democratic way of life of the American Republics;

#### Recommends:

That, mindful of their unity of purpose, each of the American Republics examines its respective laws and regulations and puts into effect those modifications which it may consider necessary to assure that subversive activities of the agents of international communist imperialism directed against each respective American Republic may be effectively prevented and appropriately punished; and

#### Resolves:

a) To recommend that, in accordance with their respective constitutional provisions, they enact the necessary measures in the respective American countries to regulate transit across international boundaries of those aliens who there is reason to expect will attempt to carry out subversive acts against the defense of the American Continent; and

b) To bear in mind, in the application of this resolution, the necessity of guaranteeing and defending by the most efficacious means the rights of the human person as well as their firm determination to preserve, defend and safeguard the basic democratic institutions of the people of the American Republics;

c) To request the Secretary General of the Organization of American States that, for the purpose of facilitating the fulfillment of the ends of this resolution and, in accordance with Articles 51, 83f and 84 of the Charter of the Organization of American States, be set up within the administrative framework of the Secretariat a technical staff with the following duties:

1. To make technical studies concerning the definition, prevention, and punishment as crimes, of sabotage and espionage with respect to acts against an American Republic and directed from abroad or against the defense of America;

2. To make technical studies of measures by means of which the respective American Republics may better protect, maintain and defend their national security against treason, sedition and other subversive acts directed from abroad or against the defense of America;

3. To make technical studies concerning measures to prevent the abuse of freedom of transit within the hemisphere including clandestine and illicit travel and the misuse of travel documents, designed to weaken the defense of America.

This technical staff will transmit the reports and conclusions resulting from its studies to the Council of the Organization of American States, which in turn will transmit them to the respective American States; if one of these States so requests and the Council by a simple majority of votes so decides, a specialized conference of the governments of the American Republics will be called on the matter in conformity with the terms of Article 93 of the Charter of the Organization of American States.

### Examination of Defense Resources

Doc. 42  
Submitted Mar. 27, 1951

*Submitted by Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Paraguay, United States, and Uruguay*

#### WHEREAS:

The American Republics, as Members of the United Nations, have pledged themselves to unite their efforts with those of other States to maintain international peace and security and take effective collective measures for the suppression of acts of aggression;



International peace and security has been threatened by the acts of aggression in Korea, and the United Nations, pursuant to resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, has taken action to restore peace in that area; and

In order to ensure that the United Nations has at its disposal means for maintaining international peace and security, the General Assembly on November 3, 1950, adopted the resolution entitled "Uniting for Peace",

The Fourth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American States

*Declares:*

That the present world situation requires the positive support by the American Republics of: (1) The collective defense of the Western Hemisphere through the Organization of American States. (2) The prevention and suppression of aggression in other parts of the world through the United Nations; and

*Recommends:*

1. That each of the American Republics should immediately examine its resources and determine what steps it can take to contribute to the defense of the Western Hemisphere and to United Nations collective security efforts and to the accomplishment of the aims and purposes of the Uniting for Peace Resolution of the General Assembly.

2. That each of the American Republics should give particular attention to the development and maintenance of elements within its national armed forces so trained, organized and equipped that they could, in accordance with its capabilities and constitutional processes, promptly be made available, for (1) the defense of the Western Hemisphere and (2) for service in support of action taken by the United Nations.

### **Inter-American Military Cooperation**

Doc. 45

Submitted Mar. 27, 1951

*Submitted by Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Paraguay, United States, and Uruguay*

*WHEREAS:*

The American Republics have assumed obligations under the Charter of the Organization of American States and in the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance to assist any American State subjected to an armed attack and to act together for the common defense and for the maintenance of the peace and security of the Continent;

The peace and security of all the American Republics are threatened by the expansionist designs of international communism; and

It is urgently necessary for the sovereign states of America to develop their military capabilities for individual and collective self-defense against armed attack in order to be in a position to contribute effectively to action by the Organization of American States against aggression. The Fourth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American States

*Resolves:*

That the American Republics, in accordance with their capabilities and constitutional processes, should so direct their national military policies that, through self-help and mutual aid:

I. Each will strengthen those armed forces and resources best adapted to the collective defense and maintain those armed forces in such status that they could be deployed promptly in the defense of the hemisphere, and

II. Each will cooperate with the others in military matters to the end that the necessary collective strength of the hemisphere is developed to combat aggression.

*Requests:*

The Inter-American Defense Board to present promptly to the Governments plans for the preparation of the armed forces of the American Republics for effective collective defense of the hemisphere, and

*Agrees:*

That each American Government should support actively the work of the IADB and should consider promptly all plans and other recommendations of that body, and

That the respective Delegations of the American Republics to the IADB shall carry on such consultations as may be necessary to facilitate approval and implementation by the Governments of the Board's plans and other recommendations in the shortest possible time.

### **Importance of Peaceful Relations Among American States**

Doc. 57

Submitted Mar. 28, 1951

*Submitted by Mexico and United States*

*WHEREAS:*

It is desirable that the energies of each American Republic be devoted to strengthening its ability to contribute to international peace and security in the Western Hemisphere and to the prevention and suppression of international communist aggression, and

Any breach of friendly relations among the American Republics can only serve to provide aid and comfort to the leaders of such aggression as well as to weaken the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere,

The Fourth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American States

*Reaffirms:*

The solemn obligations undertaken by all the American Republics to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations or the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, and to settle their international disputes by peaceful means; and

*Resolves:*  
That the American Republics will make every effort to settle any disputes between them which threaten friendly relations, in the shortest possible time, by direct bilateral negotiations, and will promptly submit such disputes as they may be unable to settle by negotiation to other available procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes, and

*Declares:*

That the faithful observance by the American Republics of the commitments not to intervene in the internal or external affairs of other States and to settle any disputes among them by peaceful means makes it possible for each of the Republics to concentrate the development of its capabilities upon the tasks best adapted to the role each is most qualified to assume in the collective defense against aggression.

### **U.S. Delegation**

On March 26, the Department of State announced the United States delegation to the fourth meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American States, which convened at Washington on that date, as follows:

*Member*

Dean Acheson, Secretary of State

*Principal Adviser*

Edward G. Miller, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Department of State

## Advisers

Edward W. Barrett, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, Department of State  
 Willard L. Beaulac, United States Ambassador to Colombia  
 Henry G. Bennett, Administrator, Technical Cooperation Administration, Department of State  
 W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., Officer in Charge, Central American and Panama Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State; *Secretary General*  
 Merwin L. Bohan, United States Representative on the Inter-American Economic and Social Council  
 Lt. Gen. Charles L. Bolté, Chairman, Inter-American Defense Board  
 Winthrop G. Brown, Director, Office of International Trade Policy, Department of State  
 Paul C. Daniels, United States Ambassador to Ecuador  
 John C. Dreier, United States Representative on the Council of the Organization of American States  
 Ralph Hilton, Public Affairs Adviser, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State  
 Edward A. Jamison, Officer in Charge, Special Political Problems, Office of Regional American Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State  
 Richard N. Johnson, Foreign Trade Policy Adviser, Office of the Special Assistant to the President  
 Philip M. Kaiser, Assistant Secretary, Department of Labor  
 Charles F. Knox, Jr., Consul General, Curaçao  
 John M. Leddy, Deputy Director, Office of International Trade Policy, Department of State  
 William McChesney Martin, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Treasury  
 Michael J. McDermott, Special Assistant for Press Relations, Department of State; *Press Relations Officer*  
 Rear Admiral Milton E. Miles, USN, United States Delegate to the Inter-American Defense Board  
 Rafael Pico, Member, United States Section, Caribbean Commission  
 Fred J. Rossiter, Associate Director, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture  
 William Sanders, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for United Nations Affairs, Department of State  
 H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld, Office of International Security Affairs, Department of State  
 Kenneth Iverson, President, Institute of Inter-American Affairs  
 Hobart A. Spalding, Intelligence Adviser, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State  
 Lynn U. Stambaugh, Member, Board of Directors, Export-Import Bank  
 Leroy D. Stinebower, Director, Office of Financial and Development Policy, Department of State  
 Charles A. Sullivan, Office of International Programs, Munitions Board, Department of Defense  
 Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, Department of State  
 Francis A. Truslow, Consultant, Department of State  
 Maj. Gen. Robert L. Walsh, USAF, United States Delegate to the Inter-American Defense Board  
 Ivan B. White, Director, Office of Regional American Affairs, Department of State  
 Marjorie M. Whiteman, Assistant Legal Adviser for Inter-American Affairs, Department of State  
 Frederick Winant, Director, Foreign Coordination Division, Defense Production Administration  
 Herbert A. Woolley, Chief, Trade Analysis Branch, Financial Policy, Trade Development Division, Economic Cooperation Administration  
 George Wythe, Director, American Republics Division, Office of International Trade, Department of Commerce  
 Thomas C. Baker, Chief, Foreign Branch, Supplies Division, Department of Interior  
 William E. Foley, Chief, Internal Securities Section, Criminal Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation

April 9, 1951

## President Confers With Irish Foreign Minister, Sean MacBride

[Released to the press by the White House March 23]

Sean MacBride, Minister for External Affairs for Ireland, today paid a courtesy call on the President at the White House prior to his return to Ireland. President Truman and Mr. MacBride had a friendly discussion concerning the present state of relations between the United States and Ireland. The Secretary of State was present during the interview.

Mr. MacBride has been on an unofficial visit to the United States since March 10. The primary purpose of his trip was to address the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick at Philadelphia on St. Patrick's Day. While in Washington, Mr. MacBride saw various Government officials and attended an official luncheon given in his honor at Prospect House.

## Letters of Credence

### Uruguay

The newly appointed Ambassador of Uruguay, José A. Mora, presented his credentials to the President on March 26. For a translation of the Ambassador's remarks and the text of the President's reply, see Department of State press release 228 of March 26.

**Auriol**—Continued from page 565

distrustful of herself, a new and harmonious organism animated by one soul and adapted to the needs and exigencies of the modern world.

Patiently and untiringly, we shall pursue the realization of these United States of a free Europe which, with full respect for the independence and dignity of all nations, will join the United States of America to work still more effectively for the welfare and peace of the world. In this way, we shall translate into actuality the prophecy of Victor Hugo who said, 75 years ago, on the eve of the Philadelphia Exhibition:

The Future is already foreseeable. It belongs to a united and peaceful democracy. And you, our delegates to the Philadelphia Exhibition, you are beginning under our eyes the superb realization which the Twentieth Century will witness: the union of the United States of America and of the United States of Europe . . . Go, workers of France, go, workers of Paris who know how to think; go, girl artisans of Paris who know how to fight, useful men, brave women, go and carry the good news, go and tell the New World that the Old World is young. You are the ambassadors of fraternity. The two continents will exchange not only their products, their trade, their industries, but also their ideas and the progress they make in justice as well as in prosperity.

Gentlemen, I would be happy if, today, I could have been one of those useful ambassadors of friendship and of peace.

## Essentials of a Peace With Japan

by John Foster Dulles<sup>1</sup>

I AM GRATEFUL to Whittier College for giving me this opportunity to make a progress report on peace in the Pacific. That subject is, I suppose, of particular interest to Americans who live on our west coast. Actually peace in the Pacific is equally important to all of us, for danger and effort can no longer be localized.

Two principal postwar goals of the Soviet Communists are Japan and Germany. If Russia's rulers could exploit the industrial and human potential of either Japan or Germany, it would be a sad day for peace. That would involve such a shift in the balance of world power that these new imperialists might calculate that they could start a general war with good prospect of success. They know that Japan, even alone, was able seriously to menace the free world in the Pacific and they imagine vast possibilities out of a combination, under their direction, of the Asiatic power of Russia, China, and Japan.

Fortunately the Japanese people do not want that combination, which would make them the front line of a new aggression which in the end would mean disaster far greater than that which they have already suffered. They are in a mood to reject militarism in all of its aspects, and they want fellowship with the nations which genuinely seek peace through collective security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations. Thus there is the opportunity to make a Japanese peace which will not only end the old war but give new strength and hope to those who strive to prevent another war.

To achieve that kind of peace is the President's mandate to the mission which I have the honor to head, and President Truman, Secretary Acheson, and Secretary Marshall are each of them giving this effort their close personal attention, to the end that this great goal shall be achieved.

Since our mission was established last January,

we have had a busy time. All or some of us have been to Japan, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, and England. We have consulted in Washington with ambassadors of other nations and also with the many in the executive and legislative branches of our Government whose wisdom, judgment, and special knowledge can be helpful. The Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, its Far Eastern subcommittee, and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House have extended the utmost cooperation. As a result of all this, we have seen the possibility of formulating peace terms which should command general support here at home, which should involve no insoluble differences with our allies, and which should be acceptable to Japan, which we consider has now earned the right to be consulted.

So this week we have begun to discuss, with our allies principally concerned in the Pacific war, actual texts which might be incorporated in an eventual treaty. These texts are still "working papers," tentative and suggestive only.

We contemplate a simple document, limited to the essentials of peace.

### PREAMBLE

Our present thought is to have a preamble to the treaty which would afford the Japanese people the opportunity to express their intentions as to matters which are important but which for one reason or another do not lend themselves to absolute contractual undertakings.

For example, Japan might indicate its intention to apply for membership in the United Nations. There is no doubt about the reality of that intention, but we think that Japan's application for membership, when it comes, should bear the unmistakable imprint of Japan's own desire without the slightest taint of external compulsion. Similarly the Japanese may want to express their

<sup>1</sup> Address made at Whittier College, Whittier, Calif. on Mar. 31 and released to the press on the same date. Also printed as Department of State publication 4171.



intention to carry forward the new ideals as to human rights and like matters which are largely embodied in Japanese legislation under the occupation and which are the subject of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They may want to declare their intention, in public and private trade and commerce, to conform to international accepted fair practices.

Japan's intentions in these respects are vitally important and go to the heart of our future relations. But except as these matters have already been spelled out in international conventions which Japan could and would adopt, they do not lend themselves to peace-treaty obligations, which should only be such as can be precisely formulated so that the parties will clearly know just what are their rights and duties.

## **TERRITORY**

The treaty proper would prescribe the territory over which the Japanese will hereafter be sovereign. It is contemplated generally speaking that Japan's sovereignty should be limited in accordance with the agreed surrender terms. That would mean sovereignty over the four home islands and minor adjacent islands. There would be a renunciation by Japan of all rights, titles, and claims to Korea, Formosa, the Pescadores, and the Antarctic area. Also the treaty might contemplate that in the Ryukyu and Bonin islands there could be United Nations trusteeship and continuing United States administrative responsibility.

The South Sakhalin and Kurile Islands were allotted to Russia at Yalta and are actually in Russian possession. Any peace-treaty validation of Russia's title should, we suggest, be dependent upon Russia's becoming a party to that treaty.

## **SECURITY**

The security of Japan itself should, we think, be worked out through individual and collective self-defense arrangements authorized by the United Nations Charter. Thus the peace treaty itself need only affirm that, upon the coming into force of the peace, Japan would in fact possess what the Charter of the United Nations refers to as the "inherent right" of sovereign nations in these respects.

## **COMMERCIAL**

As regards commercial arrangements, we do not think that the treaty of peace should itself at-

tempt to define what should be the future permanent relations between the allies and Japan. These might better be left for subsequent negotiation between a free Japan and other friendly nations. However, to prevent confusion and to minimize discrimination immediately following the coming into force of the treaty, Japan might, for such a period as 3 years, agree to accord most-favored-nation treatment to the Allied Powers, except that Japan would not, in any matter, be required to extend more favorable treatment than is accorded it. Similarly, as regards civil air-traffic rights, Japan might for 3 years, and pending the conclusion of civil air-transport agreements, grant the Allied Powers not less favorable conditions than those prevailing at the time of the coming into force of the treaty.

## **PROPERTY AND CLAIMS**

With respect to property and claims, the treaty of peace might give the Allied Powers the right generally to vest, retain, and dispose of Japanese property within their territory, while Japan should return prewar allied property in Japan and validate prewar claims belonging to Allied Powers and their nationals.

The foregoing matters can, we believe, now be dealt with with considerable precision. There are others which are still subject to exploration and development.

## **JAPAN'S SECURITY**

Since Japan is now thoroughly disarmed and materially and legally unable to maintain armed forces, there is need for provisional security measures. Accordingly, with the authority of the President, and following conversations with committees of Congress, I stated publicly in Japan that, if the Japanese wanted it, the United States would sympathetically consider the retention of United States armed forces in and about Japan, so that the coming into force of a treaty of peace would not leave Japan a vacuum of power and, as such, an easy prey to such aggression as has already shown itself in nearby Korea. This suggestion of mine was warmly welcomed by the Japanese Government and the people generally so that it is now in order to study the implementation of such an arrangement.

Since Japan is an island, its security is strongly influenced by sea and air power—power which the United States is in a position to exercise in the Pacific. The defense of Japan need not require, either now from the United States or ultimately from Japan, as large ground forces as

might be thought to be necessary if Japan had common land boundaries with militaristic powers.

## PACIFIC SECURITY

Bound up with the problem of Japan's security is the broader problem of security in the Pacific. Japan should hereafter make some contribution of its own to security, but this should never be the pretext for militarism that could be an aggressive threat. Thus the problem has a dual aspect.

No nation able to make a dependable contribution to security should get a "free ride." In our Senate, the Vandenberg Resolution has laid down for the United States the basic proposition that collective-security arrangements should be based upon "continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid." The United Nations Charter also establishes that all peace-loving states should stand ready to contribute armed forces, assistance, and facilities for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. That is one aspect of the problem. The other side of the problem is that Japan should never again develop armament which could be an offensive threat or serve other than to promote peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The peace we seek is one which will for all time liberate Japan's neighbors and indeed the Japanese people from the nightmare of militarism.

When we were in Canberra, Australia, our mission had significant discussions on this subject with the Governments of Australia and New Zealand. They made convincingly clear the attitude of their peoples on this subject. Now we are working actively to find the ways to secure the desired results.

We believe that out of our discussions, which are now well advanced, there will emerge a series of arrangements which on the one hand will enable the Japanese to make their own indispensable contribution to preventing their nation's being forced into the service of the new imperialism that ominously threatens from the mainland and which on the other hand will effectively assure that there will be no unbridled rearmament which could become an offensive threat.

The United States is able and daily growing more able to exert a mighty influence for peace and to make peace in the Pacific more secure than it has ever been before. We can see the way to remove the pall of fear which results from Japan's past conduct and from the present Communist menace. But that is not a task which we would or should undertake single-handed and alone. In the Pacific, as elsewhere, security is a cooperative enterprise. Those who wish to cooperate for security can share the protection of immense deterrent power which, in the words of the United

Nations Charter, "shall not be used, save in the common interest."

Since the arrangements for peace and security in the Pacific will in part be outside of the peace treaty and since the whole problem is not yet fully explored, we consider that any presently suggested treaty provisions are to be supplemented in the light of the outcome of the promising exchanges of views which are now taking place and to which we attach the utmost importance. No one should assume that the United States takes this problem lightly or that we shall accept a solution that will be illusory.

## REPARATIONS

As regards reparations, the United States does not question the inherent justice of the proposition that Japan should make good the damage done to others by its aggression. Reparation is, however, not merely a matter of what is just but of what is economically practicable, without disastrous consequences. We have closely examined this problem. Considerable industrial machinery has already been removed from Japan and given to countries having reparation claims. Also there is substantial Japanese property within allied countries which, as indicated, should be applicable to the satisfaction of claims. It is, however, not easy to see the possibility of Japan's providing future reparation out of her remaining capital assets or as a surplus from her current economic activity over coming years.

One of the gravest problems which confront Japan, and it equally concerns the reparation creditors, is whether Japan, deprived of its formerly owned sources of raw material and with a population of 85 million on four relatively small and barren islands, can maintain the standard of living and employment necessary to prevent widespread social unrest. This, if it occurred, would inevitably give rise to dangerous expansionist and explosive tendencies, which Japan's Communist neighbors would joyously exploit.

The United States, to prevent social and economic unrest within Japan since the occupation began, has advanced about 2 billion dollars for relief and economic assistance. That is a realistic measure of how seriously the United States views this problem and its responsibility as principal occupying power. However, the United States is not prepared after the occupation ends to continue indefinitely such economic relief. Neither is it willing in effect to pay Japanese reparations by putting into Japan what reparation creditors would take out. The United States considers indeed that its postwar advances have a certain priority status.

We doubt that it is practicable to get the essential over-all and long-range results which are sought, if the treaty also seeks to extract repara-

tion payments other than in terms of the Japanese assets already received from Japan or within the territory of the Allied Powers. However, the United States has not closed its mind on this subject, and it is, with an open mind, actively exchanging views with countries which were most grievously damaged by Japanese aggression.

### **ECONOMIC DISABILITIES**

Some suggestions have been made as to imposing upon the Japanese economic disabilities as, for example, requiring a dismantling of a part of Japan's industrial plants, particularly her ship-building capacity. As experience in Germany has shown, such provisions cannot be carried out without arousing great public bitterness. If the peace treaty required the first postwar Japanese Government physically to decimate Japan's industrial equipment, it would impose an almost inhuman burden, and the consequences would almost surely be against the best interests of the Allied Powers.

### **FISHERIES**

It has been suggested, particularly along the Pacific coast, that the treaty of peace might itself attempt permanently to regulate the problem of Japanese participation in high-seas fisheries. To attempt that would almost surely postpone indefinitely both the conclusion of peace and the obtaining of the results which are desired.

There is, I believe, a considerable possibility of agreement between the United States and Japanese fishing interests. However, the treaty of peace is not a treaty merely between the United States and Japan; it is a treaty which we hope will be signed by all of the 53 allies. Most of these nations have their own fishing problems and their own theories of solution, which differ widely. No quick results can be won by attempting to make the peace treaty into a universal convention on high-seas fishing.

When I was in Japan, the Prime Minister advised me that the Japanese Government stood ready to negotiate fisheries agreements as soon as peace restores to Japan the possibility of independent sovereign action. He said that in the meantime the Japanese Government would prohibit Japanese nationals and Japanese vessels from going into conserved fisheries in all waters, and he mentioned specifically those off the coasts of the United States, Canada, and Alaska.

The Japanese now see the importance of avoiding practices which in the past brought Japan much ill will, and, if we can hold to our tentative timetable, there can, I believe, be an early and equitable settlement of this thorny problem.

### **A PEACE OF RECONCILIATION**

From the foregoing it can be seen that the Japanese peace settlement we seek, while it would confirm the cut-back of Japan's territory to her home islands, would contemplate that Japan would be a sovereign and sustaining member of the free world. She would contribute in due course to collective security in accordance with her means but without developing armament which could be an offensive threat. Also, from an economic standpoint, Japan would be expected to get along without such subsidies as the United States has been providing during the occupation. On the other hand Japan would be restored to a position of equality, free of burdensome and discriminatory conditions. In essence the peace would be one of reconciliation.

That is not the kind of peace which victors usually grant to a vanquished nation which has committed armed aggression on a vast scale. It is not surprising that some, made bitter and distrusting by Japan's past conduct, would like to impose upon Japan continuing burdens and restrictions. Some of these taken separately seem to have justification, and perhaps no one of them alone would be of decisive historical significance. In the aggregate, however, they would fundamentally change the character of the peace settlement.

The major objective of any Japanese peace treaty is to bring the Japanese people hereafter to live with others as good neighbors. That does not require that the Japanese people should be pampered. It does mean that the victors should not take advantage of Japan's present helpless state to impose for the future unequal conditions. It means that the peace settlement should restore the vanquished to a position of dignity and equality among the nations.

The peace would be a peace of trust, not because the past justifies trust but because the act of extending trust usually evokes an effort to merit trust. It would be a peace of opportunity, in that it would afford the Japanese people the same opportunity to develop peacefully their domestic economy and their international relations as are enjoyed by most of the other free nations of the world.

### **UNITED STATES RESPONSIBILITY**

In proposing that kind of peace, the United States assumes a serious responsibility, for the results cannot be guaranteed. We have, however, a duty to exercise our best judgment as to the kind of peace which will endure. Circumstances have made our duty inescapable.

In the great war in the Pacific, we had valiant allies who, through long, hard years, poured out



life and treasure according to their means. But the United States possessed most of the means required for victory in the Pacific. The United States has carried the responsibility of occupation, and the accomplishments of General MacArthur as Supreme Commander represent a moral investment to which his countrymen cannot honorably be indifferent. The United States has contributed the economic aid which has prevented the postwar misery which would have exposed Japan to capture by communism. The United States is the member of the free world which possesses large present and prospective military power in the western Pacific, and today we are the principal contributor to the United Nations effort in Korea, which fends off danger to Japan, to our Pacific allies, as well as to ourselves.

These are some of the circumstances which require the United States to exercise an initiative for peace; to do so while there is still time; and to shape that initiative with all of the wisdom and all of the vision that is available. For a misjudgment as to timing or as to substance can bring incalculable disaster to all mankind.

The United States does not consider that it has any monopoly of responsibility nor any monopoly of experience, wisdom, and enlightenment that are required. We have no desire to "go it alone," nor have we the slightest thought of dictating. We continuously have sought and shall seek the views of others, and indeed our present suggestions are a composite, not deriving from any single source. They reflect the ideas of many, and the United Kingdom and Australia are two important sources of actual language that we accept. However, in the last analysis the United States cannot, in justice to our own people or indeed to others, become cosponsor of a peace settlement which in our judgment, made after ample consideration without arrogance and in humbleness of spirit, would throw unnecessary and intolerable burdens of a military or economic character upon the United States and jeopardize the lasting peace that the war was fought to win.

#### NO VETO

Happily the exchanges of views which have taken place have, with one exception, been altogether cordial, and no basic disagreements have developed. The Government of the Soviet Union is perhaps an exception. For 3 months its representative joined with us in full and frank discussions. But now that a peace treaty with Japan seems actually to be in the offing, the Soviet leaders seem to have taken fright. The Soviet Government has publicly announced that it will not resume discussions with us.

When peace is far off, the Russian leaders speak lovingly of peace. But when peace comes near, they shun peace like the plague.

We continue to hope that the Soviet leaders will join in a treaty of peace which would cost them nothing and which would start a relaxing of tensions which would be felt all around the globe. We are ready to give scrupulously full consideration to any views they may express. We shall steadily urge that they join in the Japanese peace.

Fortunately, however, Soviet participation is not indispensable. The Soviet Union has no legal power to veto. It has no moral due bills, for its vast takings in Manchuria, Port Arthur, Dairen, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles repay it a thousandfold for its 6 days of nominal belligerency. Japan, unlike Germany and Austria, is not divided by zones of occupation.

In relation to Japan there is the opportunity to show which of the Allies of World War II now have the genuine will for peace. There is the opportunity for them to make peace so righteous that the example will hearten and uplift men everywhere. That is the opportunity; and to its challenge we are determined worthily to respond.

### Procedure for Filing Claims Against Closed Institutions in Japan

[Released to the press March 27]

The Closed Institutions Liquidation Commission (CILC), an agency of the Japanese Government, has invited the filing of certain types of claims arising outside Japan against closed financial institutions now being liquidated by the CILC. This invitation relates only to a limited class of claims against approximately 800 institutions which are undergoing liquidation, and claims received by the CILC no later than July 16, 1951, will be paid in yen to the extent permitted by available assets. The closed institutions are in general banks, development companies, and war-time financial institutions concerned with colonial or other overseas expansion or war production. The complete list of institutions against which claims may be filed appears in the *Official Gazette* of the Japanese Government for January 24, 1951, No. 1446, English language edition, which is available in the United States in approximately 225 college, university, and public libraries, and other public and semipublic institutions. In addition, the Department has available a limited number of copies of the January 24 issue of the *Official Gazette*.

Depositors, debenture holders, and stockholders are specifically requested by the CILC not to file, since their claims are known and will be paid in accordance with CILC procedures without the filing of a claim. Unnecessary filing of known claims, it is felt by the Japanese agency, would merely serve to encumber its machinery for processing claims.

No information is available as to the extent to which realizable assets may permit the satisfaction of claims now to be received. It should be noted, however, that whereas this category of claims includes those originating outside Japan, the resources available to the CILC are necessarily limited to the assets in Japan of the financial institutions which it is liquidating.

Neither the Department of State, the United States Political Adviser for Japan, nor the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers is equipped to be of any assistance in the filing of claims. It should be clearly understood by persons having claims that any previous filing of papers with any United States, Allied, or Japanese agency does not constitute a proper filing for the purpose of obtaining payment under the CILC procedures.

All communications regarding these claims should be sent directly to the Closed Institutions Liquidating Commission, Tokyo Office, Sanwa Building, No. 2, Marunouchi 1-chome, Chiyoda-ward, Tokyo, Japan, or to the Osaka office of the Commission, Bank of Tokyo, Osaka Branch Building, No. 5 Kitahama 5-chome, Higashi-ward, Osaka, except that claims against the Taihei Lumber Co., Ltd., should be sent to the C. I. Taihei Lumber Co., Ltd., Liquidation Office, No. 7 Komagata 1-chome, Asakusa, Daito-ward, Tokyo, and claims against the Japan Publications Distributing Co., Ltd., to the Liquidation Office of that company, at No. 9 Awaji-cho 2-chome, Kanda, Chiyoda-ward, Tokyo.

The substance of the information made available by the CILC is summarized below:

1. Pursuant to Imperial Ordinance 74 of 1947 and implementing Ministerial Ordinances, the CILC has been effecting liquidation of Japanese closed institutions. Such liquidation is limited to the realization of assets in Japan and the payment of the liabilities of offices of closed institutions in Japan. In these liquidations, provision is made for the payment of all known legitimate claims to the extent permitted by the realization of available assets. Known claimants have not been required to file their claims. Claimants other than depositors, debenture holders, or stockholders have been requested to file their claims with the CILC in a period of two months following public invitation by the CILC for such filing, in order to assure consideration of their claims in the event that they are not known claimants or if the amount of claim is in dispute.

2. Prior to amendments to Imperial Ordinance 74 and its implementing Ministerial Ordinances, issued and effective December 26, 1950, the area of recognized claims payable in the liquidation of closed institutions was limited to claims against the respective offices in Japan pursuant to transactions which had occurred in Japan and were payable in Japan in Japanese currency. Recent amendments have expanded the area of recog-

nized claims payable in the liquidation of the Japanese closed institutions. This expansion has occasioned a renewed invitation by the CILC for the filing of claims in the expanded area. Claims are to be filed with the CILC no later than July 16, 1951.

3. It is emphasized that, although claims against offices in Japan expressed in foreign currency will now be recognized, settlement of such claims can currently be made by the CILC only in yen. Recipients of such settlement who desire the conversion of yen into foreign exchange will be required to follow procedures established by the Japanese Foreign Exchange Control and Foreign Trade Control Law.

4. The newly recognized area of claims against Japanese closed institutions which will hereafter be paid to the extent permitted by realizable assets is as follows:

A. Claims against offices in Japan which were payable abroad.

B. Claims against offices in Japan which were expressed in foreign currency.

C. Claims against offices in Japan which were payable in Japan, originating from transactions abroad.

(1) Goods purchased abroad.

(2) Services performed abroad.

(3) Loans made abroad.

D. Claims against overseas offices of closed institutions secured by assets in Japan.

5. The treatment of claims in the newly recognized area will be similar to that accorded to previously recognized claims. All known claims will receive consideration whether or not filing is made. Depositors, debenture holders, and stockholders are requested not to file, since their claims are known. Other claimants should file with the CILC no later than July 16, 1951, to insure consideration of their claims. Unknown claimants who file at a later date will receive consideration only after full payment has been made, to the extent permitted by realizable assets, to all other claimants whose priority in liquidation is higher than that of debenture holders and stockholders, namely, secured claims, preferred claims, claims originating from transactions subsequent to August 10, 1946, and general claims.

6. The amount of compensation and the date of settlement which claimants in the newly recognized area of claims can anticipate cannot be predicted at present. Newly recognized claims will have to be integrated subsequent to July 16, 1951, for each closed institution with previously recognized but as yet unsettled claims. Thereafter, the amount of compensation will depend upon the ratio of the total valid claims to the total realizable assets. The date of settlement will depend upon the liquidity of assets. It is currently estimated that most existing claims against closed institutions will have been settled by August 1952.

The nature of the claim statement desired by the CILC is as follows:

1. Name of the closed institution against which claim is to be filed.
2. Name and location of the office against which claim originated.
3. Date at which claim originated.
4. Description of claim, with full particulars. Principal and interest should be clearly distinguished, and the period for which interest is calculated should be stated.
5. Description and present location of any public bonds, debentures, stocks, shares, or other items which were offered as security.
6. Listing and description of any documentary

evidence (deeds, passbooks, contracts, certificates, acknowledgement of claims, etc.) which claimant may wish to attach in verification of his claim.

7. Amount of claim. If the claim is expressed in a foreign currency, it should be stated only in that particular foreign currency, without recalculating to yen or other currencies.

8. The claimant may submit any other information which he considers necessary.

9. The claim should include the full name and address of the creditor, and a statement along the following lines:

The undersigned hereby declares that the statement given above is true and correct, and acknowledges that no payment or settlement of the above-mentioned claims has been made up to the present.

## Communist "Land Reform" in North Korea Brings Disillusionment

[Released to the press March 28]

A recently completed study has brought to light the workings of the North Korean "land reform" program, some details of which had long been known to the Department. The study involved an on-the-spot check of farm conditions in North Korea, interviews with farmers, and an analysis of a mass of decrees and land laws issued by Soviet and Pyongyang authorities from 1946 to 1950. Its objective was to discover just what the North Korean farmers got out of the land distribution plan, and what the average farmer thought of it.

### Effect of Totalitarian State on Land Reform

The answer to both questions is summarized in a single statement: Landless farm laborers and poor tenant farmers, the chief beneficiaries of the program, found that land ownership in a totalitarian police state was largely a delusion. There was no margin of profit and a heavy margin of compulsory unpaid labor by the farmer and his household for the benefit of the Communist regime.

In place of the former landlords, mainly Japanese, who got rentals of 55 to 60 percent in kind annually, but paid for in cash, the Communist regime and its countless subsidiaries confiscated as much or more in various forms of tax-in-kind, assessments, and "voluntary" contributions. In addition, the farmer found that instead of one boss he had many—township and county and provincial petty officials, plus the ever-present police, who told him what to do, what to raise, and how much. At the end of the crop year, ex-

cept for subsistence, the farmer and his household had worked harder than ever, with nothing to show for it, not even enough to purchase their quota of cotton goods from the Communist-run mills.

Above all, the study reveals the unremitting efforts of the Communist regime, in the course of 5 years, to remove the last shreds of independence from the new class of farm "owners" and ruthlessly force them to become cogs in the lumbering machinery of the planned state economy. In 1950, the last step—collectivization—appears to have been in the offing. Thus, in the long range, North Korean "land reform" would have been found to be a complete delusion, not only in that the farmers' economic condition had not improved but also in that even technical ownership of the land would have proved only a transitory phase. In the end, the whole of the farming class would have been made an agricultural proletariat.

### Soviet "Land Reform" Policies

This is how "land reform" under Soviet occupation and the Pyongyang regime worked:

At the end of the war, in August 1945, when the Soviet authorities clamped down an iron curtain over North Korea, they began almost at once to consider the farm problem both for political and economic reasons. The problem of Korean farm tenants and farm workers, who under 35 years of Japanese rule had been reduced practically to peonage, was common to all Korea.

In 1945, about one-half of the 3 million farm



households in Korea owned no land at all and an additional one-third rented part of the land they tilled. Only 17.3 percent owned all the land they cultivated. Because of the exorbitant farm rentals, the average tenant, after expenses connected with cultivation, had left as little as 20 to 25 percent of his total crop for maintaining his household until the next harvest.

In North Korea, the proportion of tenancy was somewhat less than in the South, where the highly productive irrigated rice paddies offered more profitable returns to absentee landlords. But in the North, the bait of "land ownership" held out by the Communist authorities was a necessary ingredient of the whole Soviet economic program.

By transforming landless farm workers and poor tenants into private landowners, in theory at least, the Soviet authorities expected to win the allegiance of the largest "depressed" class. More important, farm production could be geared to the rest of the program, farm income would be tapped for a major part of government expenditures, and farm labor would offer a reservoir from which to draw labor for industry.

The first Soviet land-reform decree, issued in March 1946, stated that the purpose of the program was to destroy the "feudalist land system of thousands of years standing" and replace it with one "based on individual management by independent farmers."

Under this decree, all Japanese land holdings were confiscated, as well as all the tenant-worked land of Korean landlords. Also confiscated were the land of farmers in excess of five *chungbo* (12.3 acres) and the land of religious institutions exceeding the same amount of tillable land. Altogether, some 2,800,000 acres of land were confiscated and distributed to almost 800,000 landless farm workers, tenant, and part-tenant farmers. The average size of the plots distributed was slightly more than three acres, but the grants varied according to a schedule based on the labor power and consumption of each household.

Since the land redistribution brought "free" land to more than 70 percent of North Korea's farm population, half of the total population of the region at one stroke was given to believe that they had a stake in the regime.

Land ownership was the bait, but the real purpose of the reform was to lay the foundation for a rigid system of controls over the farmer and his output. The first step was to secure control at the village level. In every village, a "people's committee" was set up to work out a local land distribution plan. These special committees were made up exclusively of former hired laborers and tenant farmers. The previous village headmen were kept out of the committees and prevented from exercising any further authority. Korean landlords were either removed to a different county, where they were permitted to work a small plot of land under surveillance, or they were driven to day labor in the cities.

The new land proprietors were given certificates which stated that their parcels of land were permanently given to the recipients, but the land could not be bought, sold, rented, or mortgaged. Their right to the land, therefore, was confined to its utilization, and, for this by the first decree, they paid a tax-in-kind of 25 percent. In 1947, the land tax was fixed at 27 percent on paddy land, 23 percent on dry land, and 10 percent on "fire fields" or untilled land.

#### Results of False Promises

The Soviet authorities made much of the low tax rate for propaganda purposes, but the effective rate was far higher than the book rate. This was because the total assessment for all farms was computed by the central authorities in order to determine the rural share in financing the whole economic plan. Starting from the top, the assessment was broken down by province, county, township, and village, and at each level a "people's committee" set the amount to be collected by the units within its jurisdiction.

By the time the assessment rate reached the village, it was already inflated—since it was based on unrealistic estimates of expected yields—and this inflation was passed on to the individual farmer. The farmer's rate of tax-in-kind was further inflated by the fact that he was required to deliver only the best quality grain or other produce. In other words, in terms of value, he paid a higher rate. In addition, the tax was collected on his entire output, including vegetables, livestock, and industrial crops, regardless of the small amount of any one product grown.

An inflated land tax, however, was only part of what the farmer had to deliver. There were special taxes, assessments and "voluntary" contributions; his ox and cart were taxed, and he paid taxes for irrigation, schools, the army, local autonomy, and whatnot. Besides the increasing burden of grain collections, the Korean farmers in 1950 were compelled to purchase their allocated share of the national bond issue.

Farmers in North Korea consistently expressed the opinion that, contrary to official figures, the total agricultural production under the Communist regime did not reach preliberation levels and fell far short of the ambitious goals set by the regime's central planning. Nevertheless, the pressure on the farmer was stepped up in every conceivable way. In the beginning, the farmer was free to dispose of his output in the free market, but as collections became more severe, his marketable surplus above consumption gradually disappeared. In 1949–50, there was increasing pressure on the farmer to dispose of a large share of marketed crops through government channels at prices lower than in the free market.

Under the national economic plan, the individual farmer became merely a producing unit subject to rigid state supervision. Farmers were told

what crops to plant, what the yields should be, how much fertilizer to use, and when to complete the planting and harvesting. Assessments kept pace with the growing season, and the crop could not be harvested until the last of three assessments was completed.

As assessments fell short of over-all goals, the crops were reassessed to the planned levels, regardless of the farmers' ability to meet them. In theory, a farmer could protest his assessment, but since the case was always decided against him and the result would be a higher assessment for the following year, protests ceased to be made.

The Communist machinery of planned production and pressurized collections required a horde of officials for its operations. In addition to inspectors from township, county, and provincial authorities, the police played an increasing role not only in enforcing the central government's decrees but also in checking on the loyalty of farmers to the regime.

County police chiefs relayed to the township police stations under their jurisdiction instructions regarding the assessment program and the ideological trend of the village committees. Local police conducted secret investigations of village assessments and collections, inquired what the farmers thought of the tax program, and looked for signs of sabotage or activities by unreliable elements.

#### **Demand on Farmers for Public Labor**

But grain was not all that the Communist regime extracted from the North Korean farmers; it also needed their labor on projects outside of farming. The farming community offered the largest pool of labor for executing the regime's economic plan. Each farm household, therefore, had to contribute 1 or 2 months of voluntary labor time for local construction projects, such as roads, bridges, and schools. In addition, the entire farm population, between the ages of 18 and 55, excepting invalids and pregnant women, was subject to 20 days of compulsory, uncompensated labor service a year in national construction projects or nationalized mines and factories.

So great was the regime's demand for free labor that compulsory devices increased as time went on. There were cases of farmers mobilized for 20 days' labor in nearby mines who had to stay on the job for 6 months.

Beginning in 1949, the regime launched an intensive campaign to induce members of farm households to migrate to industrial centers, especially unmarried young women and widows. Special agents of the Ministry of Labor were sent on recruiting campaigns to the villages, where posters and radio broadcasts promised a "livelihood for two winters" to those who engaged in factory work. Under a directive issued in 1949, all free labor on farms and all farmers working dry land with an incline of 15 degrees were ordered to the

cities as permanent factory workers. The farmers, however, clung to their dry, rolling acres and the order produced meager results.

#### **Five Years of Disillusionment**

Up to the opening of hostilities in 1950, the Communist regime approached the question of collectivization cautiously. It had created a new class of small land holders without great difficulty, but it would not be easy to force these yeomen into the collective pattern. There were a few state farms, three to six, derived from submarginal land formerly held by Japanese, but larger agricultural units called for mechanization and agricultural machinery was at a premium in North Korea.

There is evidence that the Pyongyang regime planned to introduce collective farms on the heels of the projected conquest of the Republic of Korea. In 1950, professional writers in the Literary League were assigned to picture the advantages of collective farming, and lecturers on agriculture extolled the collectives and national farms of the U.S.S.R. as models for Korea. The Communist authorities believed that the new farming class, deprived of the "profit motive" by its inability to accumulate any margin over the barest subsistence, would voluntarily give up its shadowy claims on the land and surrender the last of its slender independence to collective dictation. The roar of United Nations guns halted this grandiose program.

The testimony of the North Korean farmers interviewed was conclusive: None of them wanted to see the return of the outworn system of absentee landlordism with its usurious rentals. Their experience with Communist "land reform," on the other hand, left them bitterly disillusioned. The new masters had inflicted unbearable burdens and had reduced them to slaves of the soil and victims of a ruthless bureaucracy. Their promised "independence" had not materialized. They were herded into unpaid labor for the regime and their households threatened with dismemberment by conscription into industrial servitude. Five years of heartbreaking, unrewarded labor had taught them the true meaning of the Communist dictatorship.

#### **Japanese Treaty Discussed With American Officials In London**

John M. Allison, deputy to John Foster Dulles for Japanese peace-treaty matters, departed on March 19 for a brief visit to the American Embassy, London. The purpose of Mr. Allison's trip was to bring the Ambassador and Embassy staff up to date on the exchanges of views which have been taking place with respect to a treaty of peace with Japan.

## Workshops of Liberty

*Remarks by Dr. Henry G. Bennett  
Technical Cooperation Administrator<sup>1</sup>*

It is a useful and comforting thing for us to remember that we are living in the stream of history. The great issues of our time were handed down to us through many generations, and we, in turn, will hand them on. We cannot hope to decide these issues—I doubt if they will ever be finally decided. But we can make it our solemn duty to keep these issues alive and to throw our full weight to the side that we believe is right.

The issue I have in mind to discuss with you today was probably best stated a hundred and twenty-five years ago. It concerns our place, as Americans, in the world community. And the remarkable thing, as I see it, is that as long ago as 1826, when this young Republic was faced with tremendous domestic problems, a leading American was thinking of his country's obligation of leadership to the world's people.

On January 23, 1826, James Madison wrote to a friend:

Our country, if it does justice to itself, will be the *Officina Libertatis* (workshop of liberty) to the Civilized World, and do more than any other for the uncivilized.

### Challenging Questions

"The workshop of liberty": let's explore the meaning of those words. Most of us think of America as the home of liberty; we regard ourselves as the defenders of liberty. Madison deliberately called upon our country to be a workshop of liberty. Thus, he challenged Americans to become artisans, continuously experimenting and faithfully fashioning the great idea of human freedom into a reality. Have we accepted that challenge? Are we accepting it today?

I do know that the opportunities for our country to be a workshop of liberty are greater today than ever before. The people of other countries

are aware that we have something to offer the world—not just dollars or the products of our farms and factories—but something infinitely more valuable. We can extend a helping hand to those who want to help themselves—something they can accept with confidence and self-respect and friendship. And they are reaching out eagerly to clasp that helping hand. They are looking to America as a workshop of liberty.

### Desire for Technical Assistance in Africa

A few days ago, I received an envelope containing several letters, all of them from a place I had never heard of before—the town of Ogbomosho in Nigeria, West Africa. These letters are so expressive of the hope with which people in far-off places look to the United States that I want to read you excerpts from one of them:

We the undersigned, representing the Baptist Pastors of Ogbomosho, Nigeria, West Africa, seize this opportunity to communicate you for the first time at the inception of this New Year, 1951.

Over a century ago, the Gospel message was brought to Nigeria from the Southern Baptist Convention of the United States of America. We are grateful unto God and our thanks to the Missionaries who helped in the past, who help now, and who will help in the future. . . .

For the past five years, the Baptist Churches of Ogbomosho, the Missionaries, and the town-people have been contemplating on improving the agricultural resources of the town. . . . Joy filled our hearts when we learned of the plan of the American Government as regards the development scheme for certain remote parts in the world, which is entrusted to your care. We hereby appeal to you to "Come over into Macedonia (Ogbomosho) and help us." We shall be grateful if Ogbomosho will be included in your programme in developing the agricultural resources of the town.

This need is felt by all the populace of Ogbomosho. Here is our call from Ogbomosho to America through Dr. H. G. Bennett as we have been privileged to obtain spiritual security through the Gospel of Christ brought from America to us in Africa, we earnestly crave for help for economic security.

"Economic security." To most Americans, that means earning enough money to live comfortably, and saving enough to live on in our old age. To

<sup>1</sup> Made before the Forum on "Great Issues," Tulane University, New Orleans, La., on Mar. 28 and released to the press on the same date.



millions of people in other parts of the world, economic security means something much more immediate and urgent. It means their daily bread—where the next meal is coming from. They don't want charity from us—they want our help in learning how to produce more food and other necessities for themselves. Whether they are going to receive that kind of help—enough of it and in time—is one of the great issues of our day.

And these people are concerned not only with improving their material welfare, with getting enough food to eat. They also feel a spiritual and intellectual hunger, and they are reaching out for help to satisfy those wants as well.

### **Visit to South American Training School**

I recently returned from a short trip to 10 of our neighboring countries to the south, in Latin America. I saw and learned many things of interest and value, but one of the things I will remember longest is an incident that occurred in a little village high in the Andes.

There, I went to see a training school conducted by a few American educators for teachers who serve the schools in that area. The surrounding country is 2½ to 3 miles above sea level and, to all appearances, is a cold, bleak, hostile land. Yet, people live there by choice and endure hardships in order to make their home there. They are pure-blooded Indians and have lived in that environment for generations and have adjusted to it.

Near the building in which the training center was held was another building, about half completed. That was a handsome new school, which the people of that community were building on their own initiative, with their own resources, so that their children could enjoy opportunities for a better education. Each of them contributed a peck of potatoes, a sheep, or something else from their scant production, from time to time, to the building fund.

While we were there, a delegation of the village elders called on me—the chiefs, the leaders of their people. They were simply dressed in the costume of the country, and their faces showed the patience and stoicism of their race. But they were anything but stolid in arguing the case for their school.

One of the older chiefs, speaking through an interpreter, said he had begun to work for the new school 38 years ago and foretold then that someday a stranger would appear and offer to help the community with the project. Now, he felt that his prediction was coming true. He said he would die happy if he could see the roof put on the new school.

It was a moving occasion, and I felt that the least I could do was to respond that, as a representative of President Truman and as an elected chief of the Comanche tribe, I had come to offer the cooperation of the United States in their effort to achieve a better life.

### **Further Facts on American Aid**

A few miles from that school is an experiment station, where local technicians under the direction of an American agricultural scientist are carrying on research on land provided by the Government. The progress that has been made there in only 2 years convinced me that this cooperative project, if continued and expanded, can revolutionize farm life in this region and make life better for the people even in that forbidding environment.

These were some of the things I saw and experienced on my trip, the purpose of which was to get some first-hand knowledge of the work being done by about 175 American technicians in those 10 Latin American countries under President Truman's Point 4 Program.

We call this work "technical cooperation." Let me give you an idea of what those words mean. To understand them, we must remember, first, that these neighbors of ours to the south have for generations been burdened with intense poverty, with epidemic disease, and with lack of educational opportunities. There you have people living among rich mineral and agricultural resources. But those resources are still largely untapped and unused for their own benefit.

There, you have people who are hungry living among fields that could yield abundant food. I am convinced that the food supplies of Peru, Bolivia, and other countries I visited could be doubled within 5 years—with the application of water, improved seed, and more modern methods of tilling and preserving the soil, and bringing more land under cultivation.

There, you have people who are intelligent, alert, and thirsty for education. But, because they don't have adequate schools and teachers, the majority of them cannot read or write.

Against this background, a handful of American technicians are carrying on a work of technical cooperation. First of all, they are helping the people to stamp out disease. That is a basic need. Clean water is the first requisite, and it takes only the skill of a sanitary engineer and some simple, inexpensive equipment to show people how to build a safe water system. Once that is done, you have practically wiped out typhoid and dysentery.

It takes the same sort of skill and a little more equipment to show people how to build modern sewage systems. A community in Chile recently celebrated the completion of a sewage system, built with the help of a young American sanitary engineer. The townfolk had a ceremony. They raised the American flag and unveiled a tablet commemorating what was for them a great event.

American technicians are demonstrating other kinds of health practices. They are helping to set up clinics among people deep in the jungle who have never known medical care. They are training nurses and midwives, who, in turn, are teaching women how to bear and raise healthy children.

Now, second, American agricultural specialists are helping these neighbors of ours to grow more food. They are showing them the advantages of improved seed, contour plowing, of crop rotation, and of growing legumes to enrich their soil. They are helping the people to organize farm extension services and 4-H Clubs. I had the rare pleasure of meeting with a group of youngsters and their own 4-H leader—not an American—but one who had profited by the knowledge of an American extension man.

Having been in the business of agricultural education most of my life, I got the greatest thrill out of this work of helping people fight hunger. And what I saw convinced me that these neighbors of ours to the south can not only feed themselves adequately and well within a very few years—they can help to feed the world.

We hear a lot these days about the importance of strategic materials. Well, food is the most important of all such materials. It is the key to individual productivity. It provides the energy to work, to get ahead, and to build a better life.

Health, food, and education: these are three of the keys to economic development which is the aim of the Point 4 Program. As I watched this work of technical cooperation, which is nothing more or less than helping people to help themselves, I realized that these Point 4 projects are really miniature workshops of liberty. They are helping people to free themselves from the bondage of poverty, ignorance, and disease.

Now you may say: "These are fine words." Let us explore exactly what they mean and do not mean. American technicians do not go out to other countries to preach democracy. They do not think of themselves as salesmen of the American way of life. Their job is to work with people who are ready and eager to profit by certain kinds of knowledge and certain skills which they have. Their job is to help people do the things they want to do.

#### **The Psychological Moment for Point 4 Program**

The method of the Point 4 Program is cooperation. The subject matter of this cooperation may be a problem in health, food supply, education or mineral development, or to survey the economic needs of a whole country. The immediate purpose of this cooperation is to enable people to become economically self-supporting and independent of outside help.

Economic self-support and independence is a basic and essential ingredient of liberty. The sense of opportunity and hope that comes with economic independence is another essential ingredient of liberty.

We speak of the free world. But those words have little reality where people are captives of habitual hunger, disease, and ignorance; where a child cannot expect to live beyond the age of 30;

where a farm family cannot by its combined labors expect to feed itself decently.

It is a good thing to have individual liberty written into a constitution. It is a necessary thing to have laws which safeguard the rights of the individual.

But the practice of liberty begins with hope and a sense of growing independence. These are among the products of the workshops I have described.

The Point 4 Program is not confined to Latin America. Today, there are American technicians at work in some 30 countries whose Governments and people have expressed a desire to cooperate with the United States. In Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia this growing cooperation acts as a kind of yeast, stimulating a new growth of economic and social progress.

The ferment had already begun when Point 4 came along. The people were ready for change. They were ready to break out of the vicious circle of poverty, disease, and ignorance. This ferment was a good and healthy thing, and we welcomed it. It took the form of a drive for national independence. We understood this drive, and we have given it a helping hand where we could.

It is taking the form also of a search for new skills, new tools, and new ideas. We understand this search, and we welcome it too. The Point 4 Program comes at a psychological moment. We Americans have no monopoly, but we are relatively well equipped with skills and tools. Moreover, we have had some experience in experimenting with ideas—most important of all, with the idea of liberty.

So, I believe, we have an opportunity here to take up the challenge that Madison offered to our country. What we do now may not decide the issue in our generation. But we can, at least, make certain that workshops of liberty are kept in operation for generations to come.

#### **Civil Defense Mutual Aid Agreement With Canada**

*The United States and Canada exchanged notes which constitute a Civil Defense Mutual Aid Agreement between the two countries. Simultaneous announcement of the agreement was made on March 27 in Washington and Ottawa by Millard Caldwell, Federal Civil Defense Administrator of the United States, and by Paul Martin, Minister of National Health and Welfare of Canada.*

*March 27, 1951*

SIR, I have the honour to refer to the conference held in Ottawa on February 21, 1951, of Civil Defence authorities of the Governments of the United States of America and Canada.

Pursuant to the unanimous recommendation of that conference, I am instructed by the Canadian

Government to propose that an agreement in the following terms be concluded between our Governments:

As far as possible, Civil Defence activities in the United States and Canada should be co-ordinated for the protection of persons and property from the result of enemy attack as if there were no border. The following arrangements are made to ensure such co-ordination in matters of Civil Defence.

Except as regards matters of broad government policy, for which the diplomatic channels would be appropriate, the normal channel of communication between the two countries with regard to civil defence matters will be between the Co-ordinator of Civil Defence in Canada (or any successor authority) and the Administrator, Federal Civil Defence Administration in the United States (or any successor authority), referred to hereafter as the "Federal Civil Defence Authority" or "Authorities." This will not prevent the use of other channels where appropriate, or as may be authorized by the Federal Civil Defence Authorities, but in the event of other channels of communication or agencies of co-operation being used, the Federal Civil Defence Authority in each country will be informed immediately.

The Federal Civil Defence Authority in each country will keep the other informed about developments under consideration and action taken regarding:

- (a) Organization, legislation and regulations (including federal, state and provincial) for Civil Defence.
- (b) Material, equipment, supplies and facilities (research, development, standardization and availability).
- (c) Training (schools, courses, pamphlets, methods, etc.).
- (d) Arrangements with state, provincial and municipal authorities and other agencies.
- (e) Public information and education.

The Federal Civil Defence Authority of each country will:

- (a) Exchange personnel at a working level.
- (b) Offer training facilities to students designated by the other country.

So that all civil defence supplies, equipment and facilities (including medical, hospital, fire-fighting, police, rescue, evacuation, welfare, transportation, communication and other similar services) may be utilized to the fullest extent in connection with civil defence preparations, exercises and action, appropriate legislation will be sought, regulations made or instructions given in connection with customs, immigration, integration of services and facilities and other matters whether under federal, state, provincial or municipal jurisdiction.

State and provincial Civil Defence authorities in adjacent jurisdictions will be authorized by the Federal Civil Defence authorities to confer together to insure co-operation between them on civil defence. Similarly, state and provincial authorities will be empowered by the Federal Civil Defence authorities to authorize co-operation between border municipalities to co-ordinate planning and provide for immediate warning and action in the event of attack. Such co-operation will be in accordance with the policy laid down in each country by the Federal Civil Defence Authority.

The cost of civil defence assistance furnished by one country in connection with an attack upon the other country shall be reimbursed by the country attacked. The Federal Civil Defence Authorities will co-operate in recommending to their respective governments a detailed financial agreement to give effect to this policy.

A Joint United States/Canadian Civil Defence Committee is hereby established. The Committee will consist of the Federal Civil Defence Authorities and such other members as may be designated by them. The Committee may establish, from time to time, such working groups and sub-committees as may be necessary. This Committee will recommend, jointly, to their respective governments

such action as is considered desirable to insure the closest co-operation.

If this proposal is acceptable to your Government, this Note and your reply will constitute an agreement between our two Governments on this subject which shall enter into force on the date of your note and which may be terminated on six months notice by either Government.

Accept [etc.]

H. HUME WRONG

March 27, 1951

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to your note No. 161 of March 27, 1951 containing recommendations for civil defense cooperation which have been agreed upon by the civil defense authorities of the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada.

The proposals contained in your note are acceptable to the Government of the United States of America, and it is agreed that your note and this reply thereto shall constitute an agreement between our two Governments on this subject which shall enter into force on the date of this note and which may be terminated on six months notice by either Government.

Accept [etc.]

DEAN ACHESON

## U. S.-Liberian Agreement Provides Amateur Radio Communications

[Released to the press March 20]

By means of an exchange of notes between the American Embassy in Liberia and the Liberian Department of State, dated November 9, 1950, and January 8, 1951, a bilateral agreement between the United States and the Republic of Liberia directly affecting licensed amateurs of the two countries has been concluded. Under the terms of this agreement, amateur radio stations of the Republic of Liberia and of the United States may exchange international messages or other communications from or to third parties provided:

1. No compensation may be directly or indirectly paid on such messages or communications.
2. Such communications shall be limited to conversations or messages of a technical or personal nature for which, by reason of their unimportance, recourse to the public telecommunications service is not justified. To the extent that in the event of disaster, the public telecommunications service is not readily available for expeditious handling of communications relating directly to safety of life or property, such communications may be handled by amateur stations of the respective countries.

(Continued on page 592)



## ECA and Schuman Plan Advance European Recovery

### THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF ECA

#### *Statement by the President*

[Released to the press by the White House April 2]

On this third anniversary, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you who have carried out so well the aims of the European Recovery Program.

When General Marshall first made his proposal, the shadow of economic collapse, with its attendant evils of unemployment, of hunger and political unrest, hung over the countries of Western Europe. The great question in 1947 was whether free institutions could survive.

Today, thanks primarily to their own efforts, the people of Western Europe, together with our help, have rebuilt the economies of their countries and have developed a new spirit of confidence in themselves and in their free institutions. To my mind, this spirit, this rising confidence in the hearts of the people, is one of the greatest sources of strength in the free world.

By working together, economic recovery has been substantially achieved. However, with the present threat to world peace, new tasks have been imposed upon us. The free nations are now combining to convert their resources into military strength to preserve the peace and defend our freedoms.

The splendid organization which has been developed under the Economic Cooperation Administration can make an important contribution in helping develop this strength. Accordingly, I intend to recommend to the Congress that ECA be maintained on a continuing basis to help carry out the programs essential to the security of the free world.

There is much to be done in Europe, in Asia, and in other parts of the world, to help the free countries build their military, economic and spiritual defenses against aggression from without and subversion from within. One of our essential objectives is to develop, in cooperation with other free nations, an expanding world economy, the benefits of which can be shared by us all.

On this anniversary, I extend to all of you my sincere thanks for what you have done. I am confident that in its new tasks the ECA will continue to make a vital contribution in helping to build the strength of the free world upon which security and freedom rest.

#### *Remarks by Secretary Acheson<sup>1</sup>*

One of the most inspiring developments of our time is the phenomenal progress made by the people of Europe in recovering from the ravages of war.

This recovery, although it may be measured or described in material terms, is above all a triumph of the spirit. The character and determination of the people, the courage and vision of their leaders—this is what the recovery of Europe is built on.

The importance of this recovery to the rest of the world was foreseen and stated for us by President Truman and General Marshall in 1947. They foresaw that it was not only the well-being of the people of Europe which was at stake but it was something even more. It was also world peace which was hanging in the balance, for the power of Europe is crucial to the peace of the world.

The Economic Cooperation Administration, built upon this vision, today celebrates its third anniversary. It is a matter of pride to the people of America that we have been able, through the Economic Cooperation Administration, to play a role in supporting the great achievements of the people of Europe. By assisting in the return and further growth of economic vitality in Europe, we have measurably advanced our common security.

It is fitting, on the occasion of this anniversary, that we should honor the distinguished Foreign Minister of France, Robert Schuman. Truly a

<sup>1</sup> Made at Washington at ceremonies commemorating the third anniversary of the European Cooperation Administration on Apr. 2 and released to the press on the same date.

statesman, in the fullest sense of the word, M. Schuman stands at the forefront of the leaders of Europe whose creative imagination and courageous initiative helped to spark the miracle of European recovery.

As the father of the plan for the pooling of coal and iron production in Europe, M. Schuman has pointed the way toward a solution of Europe's most grievous and most critical problem—the rivalry which has existed between his country and Germany.<sup>2</sup>

More than this, the Schuman Plan, when it has been converted into reality by the favorable action of the parliaments of the six participating countries, will help to further the process whereby the people of Germany may be brought more closely within the European community as equal partners with the people of other nations.

The plan of M. Schuman carries forward the fundamental concept of the European Recovery Program—a joint effort among the nations of Europe toward greater freedom of trade, leading to higher standards of living for their people.

For this vision, and the leadership which has inspired the development of this plan, the name of Robert Schuman deserves and receives our profound respect.

*Address by Robert Schuman  
French Foreign Minister<sup>3</sup>*

A happy coincidence has afforded me the honor of attending this celebration of the third birthday anniversary of ECA, and of addressing this meeting in the name of the European countries which are the beneficiaries of this splendid American initiative.

First, as Minister of Finances, and then as Prime Minister, I have taken part in the negotiation, later in the signature of the agreements and arrangements which were concluded on this subject between the United States and France.

Before going further, I wish to render grateful homage to the man whose name will be forever associated with the policy of international solidarity. Having prepared the ground for economic cooperation between the nations of the two continents, he is now again the leader of a military cooperation for Atlantic defense. General Marshall belongs to that line of American statesmen who never seek to avoid their country's call, nor to shirk difficult international duties even though it would seem that their past great accomplishments and personal considerations would entitle them to decline such an accumulation of responsibilities and sacrifices.

The Marshall Plan has been more than a gesture of human brotherhood. It has been the expression

of a farsighted policy. You have never wanted the countries of Europe to sink in misery and in despair. Having saved them from Hitlerism, you have protected them from communism. You have clearly understood that should Western Europe be lost for our civilization, a sinister threat, perhaps beyond remedy, would overwhelm all of humanity. Whoever rules Europe rules the world. Without a free Europe, there is no assurance of liberty for any other country.

Our destinies are obviously bound together. We must, in the same way, be bound together in our efforts and sacrifices. No country can be saved in spite of itself. No country can be saved unless it cooperates, unless it participates in the struggle, unless it contributes all its resources and energies for its own salvation.

In order to be effective, the American aid could not and should not have been merely a generous gift of alms. It was conceived as the initial endowment of a vast plan for European recovery.

You did not bring us merely financial help, but also an idea, a program of which we were to be not only the beneficiaries but also the artisans. The aim was not only to help us through a critical period but also to provide us with protection from further crises, to make us strong enough to face and overcome them by our own means. In a word, your aim was to provide again to our ruined and devastated continent the possibility of living by its own labor, in free cooperation with other Nations.

After its political liberation, Europe was thus able to recover the freedom of its economic initiative. Here is the deep and durable meaning of the Marshall Plan. The people of Europe have understood it.

Today, we are proud to say that not only have you saved us from starvation and unemployment by sending us bread and raw materials, but that you have enabled us to rebuild a Europe fully capable of supporting itself by its work and its commerce.

Indeed, other problems have meanwhile been added to the earlier ones. In 1948, our task was to adapt our activity to the normal needs of the country. The urgent requirements of security and the rise in the prices of raw materials are upsetting the equilibrium that we were on the point of achieving.

Furthermore, the future of underdeveloped countries for which we are responsible must now and more become the object of our concern and of our planning, as President Truman has stressed.

Europe is not discouraged by the new effort which has been asked of her. The results already achieved, thanks to the implementation of the Marshall Plan, in improving our economic situation over the last 3 years permit Europe to envisage her future with confidence.

Europe feels herself regenerated not only because of the effort put forth by each individual

<sup>2</sup> For an article on the Schuman Plan, see BULLETIN of Apr. 2, 1951, p. 523.

<sup>3</sup> Made on Apr. 2 upon the occasion of the third anniversary of the Economic Cooperation Administration.

country, but because the European nations are organizing and uniting among themselves. This is again a result of the Marshall Plan.

The European Organization for Economic Cooperation was created in aid of the execution of this plan. It groups the 18 free countries of Western Europe in a common endeavor of reconstruction, modernization, and expansion. It is the body which most represents the whole of European production.

In addition to this continental organization, regional initiatives remain possible and desirable, provided they are in accordance with a general coherent plan. In this framework appears the imminent creation by six European countries, comprising 160 million inhabitants, of a single market for coal and steel, under the control of an independent supranational authority. The objective is to increase production, to produce and to sell at the lowest possible prices, to improve at the same time the general welfare, especially that of the workers of every category.

In place of a divided Europe, exhausting herself in isolation and sterile rivalries, we are progressively substituting a United Europe, animated with a European spirit.

In the course of two centuries, you Americans have forged your own unity. Our wish is that, at the side of a strong America, the citadel of world freedom, and in a close friendship with her, a Europe conscious of her own destiny should arise, a Europe determined to develop fully, and to share, all its material and spiritual resources, in a freely organized European community.

Together, we will thus pursue the work undertaken 3 years ago, faithful to the spirit of those who have conceived and implemented it. This will be the best way in which we can express our gratitude, this will be for them the supreme reward.

*Remarks by A. Averell Harriman  
Special Assistant to the President*

*[Released to the press by the White House April 2]*

It is a great satisfaction for me to be here today with my old colleagues of the ECA. You men and women and your associates abroad have contributed so greatly to the success of the Marshall Plan.

It is good to have with us Paul Hoffman, who gave us all such inspired leadership. And we are especially fortunate in the presence of the Foreign Minister of France, Robert Schuman. With his broad vision and human understanding, he has given effective leadership to the cause of European unity.

The Marshall Plan will go down in history as a great accomplishment in cooperation among free nations and free men. On the material side, there have been outstanding achievements. But of even greater importance has been the development of the sense that men of many nations can work to-

gether for common purpose—for common welfare. I think it is no exaggeration to say that the strong bonds which today unite the nations of the North Atlantic community, would not exist had it not been for the successful experience of working together during these last 3 years under the European Recovery Program. This unity, this sense of interdependence in the North Atlantic community, is one of the greatest assets of the free world as a whole in its present struggle.

You men and women can take great satisfaction in the part that you have played in these events.

## **Export-Import Bank Loan to Spain for Temporary Wheat Purchases**

*[Released to the press by the Export-Import Bank  
March 16]*

Spain has been granted a credit of up to 5 million dollars by the Export-Import Bank with the approval of the Economic Cooperation Administrator on the basis of an authorization in title 1, chapter XI of the General Appropriations Act of 1951.

The present credit is to permit the purchase of wheat and, thereby, ameliorate the temporary shortage of wheat prevailing in Spain prior to the harvests.

Of the four credits previously established by the Bank, three were for the purpose of assisting Spain to revive her agricultural output, thus enabling her to be less dependent on foreign sources for foodstuffs by providing her with an increased supply of fertilizers, tractors, and spare parts; the fourth credit was for raw cotton to be used in the major industry of the country for production both for the domestic market and for export.<sup>1</sup>

## **Food Situation in India Critical**

*[Released to the press March 30]*

The Department has received a report from the American Embassy at New Delhi underscoring the critical food situation in the densely populated rural areas of northern Bihar Province in northeastern India.

According to this report, Clifford C. Taylor, Counselor of the Embassy at New Delhi, visited Bihar Province during the past week on a personal tour of the area inspecting conditions there and discussing the situation with Indian officials in the province. Taylor personally inspected ra-

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Mar. 5, 1951, p. 380.



tion shops, stocks of foodstuffs in Indian Government warehouses, crop conditions, and privately owned stocks.

In the northeastern district of the province, Taylor found that drought had reduced the rice crop by 50 percent. In the Purnea area, in the northeast corner of the province which is most acutely affected by the drought, Taylor found extremely meager stocks of recently harvested rice. Barley and wheat were being harvested, but yields—due partially to unimportant acreage—but chiefly due to drought conditions, ranged between 150 to 300 pounds to the acre. Farmers and officials of the area pointed out that no important crop harvest was possible before December of this year. Moreover, the soil was found to be too dry to plant corn.

Taylor observed that although an 8-ounce ration had been authorized for the most needy portion of the population in the Purnea district, stocks available in ration shops were insufficient to meet half this meager ration. Supplies on hand, Taylor found, consisted mainly of grain sorghums, purchased and imported from the United States, and wheat imported from various sources. The American grain sorghums, Taylor found, were very popular among the local population of the area.

The seriousness of the situation, Taylor was informed, lay in the fact that this heavily populated area, stricken by drought and with inadequate reserve supplies of foodstuffs available, was becoming increasingly dependent upon imported supplies. Officials emphasized that this condition, already serious, might become critical unless sufficient supplies could be imported to tide over the population until the next harvest. And it was pointed out that the monsoon season with its torrential rains would begin in June when roads would become virtually impassable. Consequently, Taylor was informed, supplies must be imported and distributed before the monsoon season sets in.

## **Immediate Legislation Urged To Provide Grain for India**

### *Statement by the President*

*[Released to the press by the White House March 29]*

India has an urgent need for grain to prevent suffering and starvation. This I pointed out in my message of February twelfth to the Congress.<sup>1</sup> My views have not changed. We can, at some sacrifice, spare the grain. We should do so—first, to save human lives and, secondly, to strengthen freedom and democracy in an important area of

Asia. Moreover, we should provide the first million tons promptly as a grant. We can then explore in greater detail the situation with respect to the remaining million tons.

India must have 6 million tons of grain in order to meet the famine conditions caused by severe drought. India has made arrangements to buy 4 million tons through ordinary sources including United States suppliers. To pay for the additional 2 million tons of grain would place too great a strain on the financial resources of India and would prevent the carrying out of its essential development program. In addition, with the provision of grain to India as a grant, the Indian Government will deposit the local currency coming from the distribution of the grain to the Indian people into a special account which can be used for agricultural development projects in India agreed to by us. These projects will help alleviate the recurrence of such conditions as the present.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee carefully investigated this matter and, on March fifth, favorably reported a bill to provide the grain to India. This bill has bipartisan support. It reflects the desire of the American people to help the Indian people in their present emergency.

Prompt action is vital. The monsoon season occurs in India during the summer. Many roads are then made impassable and grain shipments to remote areas are greatly impaired. Each day's delay after April first in starting shipments will leave a serious gap in India's food supply later this summer and cause great suffering. I hope, therefore, that the Congress will enact the necessary legislation as soon as possible after its recess.

### **U.S.—Liberia**—Continued from page 588

3. This arrangement shall apply to all the continental and insular territory of Liberia and to the United States and its territories and possessions, including Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, and to the Panama Canal Zone. It shall also be applicable to the case of amateur stations licensed by the United States authorities to United States citizens in other areas of the world in which the United States exercises licensing authority.

4. This arrangement shall be subject to termination by either Government on 60 days notice to the other Government, by further arrangement between the two Governments dealing with the same subject, or by the enactment of legislation in either country inconsistent therewith.

As a matter of related interest, amateur stations licensed by the Federal Communications Commission heretofore have been able, under and in accordance with the terms of the previously effected arrangements, to exchange international messages or other communications from or to third parties with amateur stations of Canada, Chile, Peru, and Ecuador.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 26, 1951, p. 349.

## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

### The Provisional Frequency Board in Retrospect

#### AN EFFORT TO SATISFY MODERN NEEDS FOR RADIO FREQUENCIES

by Marie Louise Smith

One of the most significant postwar efforts to satisfy equitably modern world needs for radio frequencies was that of the Provisional Frequency Board (PFB). Little known outside technical circles, the activities of this Board constituted one of the quietest yet most important chapters in the continuing effort to finalize a new world-wide radio frequency list covering that portion of the spectrum which has been opened for use to date. Although the Board did not fully achieve its objective of preparing a draft list, for reasons beyond the control of any international body in the present restive world, the concept embodied in its formation has special significance to international relations in the telecommunication field. It represented a new approach to the baffling task of finding some means for a fair sharing by all countries of available radio frequencies—an item in scarce supply. Under this approach, nations would obligate themselves to the predetermined usage of every frequency in the radio spectrum.

The Board's technical task was unprecedented, in view of the almost unbelievable advancement in the science of electronics during the last decade with resulting increased uses and corresponding claimants for space in the radio spectrum. These increased demand for frequencies could not be met under the outmoded system<sup>1</sup> for registration of frequency usage provided for at the Cairo Radio

Conference in 1938. The limited achievements of the PFB have been under study by member countries of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) during the last 9 months, and its findings and conclusions will largely determine the next step toward the finalization of a new international radio frequency list—for which a 1951 tentative target date has been set.

#### Background

At the initiative of the United States, the PFB was created by the Atlantic City Radio Conference in 1947 to continue the work commenced by one of the Conference committees.<sup>2</sup> Comprised of the technical experts of the radio world, the PFB was assigned the task of reengineering operating radio frequency assignments throughout the world to conform with the new table of allocations adopted at Atlantic City, thereby conserving spectrum space and eliminating interference. The Atlantic City table allotted blocks of frequencies to each type of radio communication, including fixed services, aeronautical and maritime services, and amateur, standard band and high frequency

<sup>1</sup> Under this system, countries notified the Bern Bureau of the ITU of frequency assignments to stations, relying upon a rather ill-defined priority system as the determining factor in cases where more than one national administration claimed the same frequency. Also, there was no machinery to determine in advance whether assignments registered were likely to create international interference.

<sup>2</sup> Committee 6 of the International Radio Conference of Atlantic City in 1947 undertook to prepare plans based on engineering principles for use as a guide in making frequency assignments to the radio stations of the various services and, based upon these plans, to compile for the approval of the Conference the first edition of the Official International Frequency List. The List would cover frequencies up to 30,000 kc. Because of the delay in obtaining an accurate indication of each country's circuit and frequency requirements and the time required to complete necessary technical studies concerning the engineering phases of the project, it was necessary to establish a special Board to carry on the undertaking.

broadcasting. The PFB was to transfer existing and projected radio services of all countries to the bands of frequencies allotted for each service by the new table. In so doing, the PFB was to try to make adequate provision for future development of new radio services and expansion of existing services so that all countries might improve and increase their radio communications to the fullest extent practicable. Communication services interrupted by World War II were to be treated on the same basis as existing services. Special consideration was to be given to the needs of countries where natural development had been impeded, especially as a result of the war.

The PFB was to deal specifically with the assignment of frequencies to fixed, tropical broadcasting and land stations within the frequency band included between 10 kilocycles and 30 megacycles. Starting with requirements submitted by the various national administrations at Atlantic City, the PFB had authority to request from any country additional information regarding the operation of any circuit, if deemed necessary in furtherance of its work.

In cases which could not be resolved satisfactorily on a sound engineering basis, the PFB was to give consideration to the dates of notification to the Bern Bureau as well as to the priority of establishment of the circuits under consideration. Any such frequency assignment, which the PFB was unable to settle satisfactorily, was to be dealt with by the extraordinary conference.

In order to relieve the PFB of some of the work involved in this prodigious undertaking, the Atlantic City Conference assigned certain frequency bands to be dealt with by special conferences concerned with standard band broadcasting, high frequency broadcasting and the aeronautical services, and by ITU regional conferences to deal with the geographic apportionment of frequencies. Any assignment bands prepared by the service and regional conferences were to be turned over to the PFB as a package for incorporation into the draft of the new international frequency list. Once a complete draft list was prepared, it would then be submitted to an extraordinary administrative radio conference, to be convened by the ITU for the purpose of approving the new list and establishing appropriate machinery for its implementation. The PFB was scheduled for dissolution upon the date the new list was accepted.

The PFB convened on January 15, 1948. Originally scheduled to complete a draft list by November 15, 1948, the deadline was extended twice, and, after 25 months of continuous work, the Board ceased operations on February 28, 1950. Although the task was not entirely completed, the PFB compiled frequency lists for certain bands.<sup>3</sup> In other bands, where the requirements were so excessive as not to fit within the allotted space, the PFB prepared for transmission to the extraordi-

nary radio conference a tabulation of channels and accompanying sharing plans.

### Obstacles

From the outset, PFB was beset by serious difficulties in carrying out the Atlantic City directives. As in the case of the Copenhagen, Mexico City, and other international conferences dealing with radio frequency matters, political considerations were interjected into an essentially technical undertaking; east-west differences arose to complicate relations among the delegations; unrealistic and padded requirements were submitted by participants; and there was no willingness to make the concessions necessary to reach agreement. Some of the countries whose services had been impeded during the occupation and others where radio development was in its infancy seized upon the directives, which were designed to protect legitimate services and used them to submit inflated requirements based upon national prestige interests and the pipe dreams of their technical administrations. Delegates lacked authority to reduce national statements of frequency requirements and could not agree upon principles for their consolidation. Disgruntled and wearied by months of futile debate, delegates, at times, lost patience with efforts to reconcile stated requirements within the confines of the allotted bands of the spectrum, and, on several occasions, moves were initiated by dissident groups to call for dissolution of the PFB.

While the PFB was working on the new list, the ITU continued to register frequency assignments in conformity with the Cairo radio regulations. Parallel notices of these registrations were sent to the PFB. The extraordinary conference will have to determine the procedure for incorporating into the international list new assignments, which were activated during the period between the closing date for submission of country requirements and the convening of the extraordinary conference.

The work of the Board was seriously handicapped by refusal of the Soviet Union to submit a statement of radio circuit requirements since the U.S.S.R. is a large user of the spectrum. In view of the absence of any Soviet report of requirements, the PFB considered no frequencies for the U.S.S.R. except those required to complete existing international circuits with other countries ter-

<sup>3</sup> World frequency lists suitable for study by the extraordinary conference were developed only for the portion of the spectrum lying between 9 and 27.5 Mc/s. Although a list was developed for the portion near 5 Mc/s, the value of this list is largely nullified since no results were obtained in the regions immediately above and below. The PFB did not get around to preparing recommendations on the procedure to be followed in order to give effect to the new list nor the manner in which additional requirements submitted by administrations after the closing date of February 25, 1948, should be incorporated into the list.



minating in the U.S.S.R. and those which the Board had reason to believe were in operation domestically. The Soviet delegation walked out of the PFB in October 1949 after protracted debate on every issue raised. Their formal break followed a decision by the Board to proceed with its frequency engineering task under the international radio regulations adopted at Atlantic City in 1947. Even though the U.S.S.R. participated in the adoption of these regulations, at Geneva they advocated instead that the old priority system of operating assignment be retained, using the 1939 Bern list wherein they have an excessive number of frequency registrations.

The United Kingdom maintained a large and very active delegation at the PFB from the beginning until about June 15, 1949, at which time the United Kingdom delegation was temporarily withdrawn. This action came during the most trying period of the Board's work. At this point, considerable sentiment developed that the final compilation of an acceptable list was an impossible task. There was substantial support for a proposal calling for gradual shifting of all services now operating outside the allotted bands to in-band frequencies, using the lists prepared as a guide wherever possible and notifying the IRTU. The IRTU would then study each shifted operation case by case and accord registration status if it determined that no harmful interference would result. This evolutionary procedure would take from 5 to 20 years for completion.

The United States, which was the leading advocate for the PFB concept of obtaining advance international agreement on frequency lists for all radio services, led the resistance to this line of thinking. After lengthy discussion, the Board decided to continue work toward its objective of a draft frequency list and to inform the IRTU Administrative Council that, in those portions of the spectrum where the requirements exceed the allotted space by a substantial amount, the Board could not complete frequency assignment plans because the reduction of requirements to the necessary amount was beyond its scope.

#### Scientific Value

The work of the PFB has made a substantial contribution to the world's technical literature. Not only will its studies contribute materially to the enlightenment of students in the field of radio communication but, until further contributions are made to man's technical knowledge, the reports of the PFB will also be used extensively by all national administrations in the study of their communication problems. The reports, partial plans, and completed plans of the PFB, which indicate the frequency bands and areas of the world in which congestion is most pronounced, have laid the groundwork for future attempts to produce an entirely new list. Its experiences point up the

difficulties which must be overcome before a new international frequency list can be evolved.

The PFB succeeded in concluding lists only in those instances in which there was less pretext for political manifestations. Where plans have not been finalized it has been due in good part to the selfish national interests of participating countries. It is unfortunate that these elements figure so prominently in an undertaking that has an immediate bearing upon the safety, welfare, and cultural benefits of man. The PFB has left an indelible impression—the recognition that a scientific approach is essential to achieve orderliness in the spectrum. Among those who are close to the problem, a grim realization exists that without such orderliness the only alternative is chaos in the radio spectrum.

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## United States Delegations to International Conferences

### Northwest Atlantic Fisheries

The Department of State announced on March 29 that the first meeting of the International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries will convene at Washington on April 2. The United States Government will be represented at the meeting by the following delegation:

#### Commissioners

Hilary J. Deason, Chief, Office of Foreign Activities, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior  
Bernhard Knollenberg, Chester, Conn.  
Francis W. Sargent, Director, Division of Marine Fisheries, Department of Conservation, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Boston

#### Advisers

Edwin H. Dahlgren, Chief, Section of Marine Fisheries, Branch of Fishery Biology, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior  
Fred H. Taylor, Foreign Affairs Specialist, Fisheries and Wildlife, Department of State  
Mary B. Trenary, Division of International Administration, Department of State  
Richard T. Whiteletter, Assistant Chief, Branch of Commercial Fisheries, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior

#### Adviser and Secretary

Edward Castleman, Chief, Section of International Agreements Office of Foreign Activities, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior

The northwest Atlantic fisheries are the oldest in the Western Hemisphere, having been harvested for more than 300 years. They have, during that whole time, been especially important in the econ-

omy of New England and, recently, have shown increasing evidences of depletion, with especially acute declines in the banks off the New England shores.

Recognition of the existing and potential depletion of fish, not only in the western Atlantic but also on the European side, prompted the convening of three conferences, held at London in 1937, 1943, and 1946, to seek remedies for the problem. None of the agreements concluded at those conferences has as yet entered into force.

The United States Government, which had taken the position that the northwest Atlantic should for conservation purposes be considered as separate from the northeast Atlantic, did not participate in the 1937 conference and was represented simply by observer delegations at the 1943 and 1946 conferences. On its own initiative, the Senate of the United States voted \$25,000 for the fiscal years 1948 and 1949 for the study by the Department of State of the desirability of a new fisheries convention. As a result of this study, a conference was held at Washington in January 1949 of those nations having an interest in the northwest Atlantic fisheries. That conference resulted in the opening for signature on February 8, 1949, of the International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries and in the adoption of a final act wherein the United States Government was charged with the duty of convening, as soon as possible after the entry into force of the convention, of the first meeting of the International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries.

The Commission, in accordance with the terms of the convention, will provide the machinery for international cooperation in the scientific investigation and development of the fishery resources of the waters off the west coast of Greenland and the east coasts of Canada and New England. While the Commission is given no direct regulatory powers, it may make recommendations to the respective Governments regarding regulatory measures which it considers necessary for maintaining the stocks of fish which support the international fisheries in the convention area. Upon approval by the Governments directly concerned, regulations will become applicable to all member countries.

The convention entered into force on July 3, 1950, after the deposit of instruments of ratification by four signatory Governments (Canada, Iceland, U. K., and the U. S.). It entered in force on December 14, 1950, with respect to Denmark, on the date of deposit of its instrument of ratification. It has not yet entered into force with respect to the following other signatory countries: France, Italy, Norway, Portugal, and Spain.

Invitations have been extended, accordingly, by the United States Government to the parties to the convention and also to those countries which have signed but not yet ratified the convention to participate in the first meeting of the International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries.

Invitations have also been extended to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea.

The first meeting is expected to be primarily organizational in nature. Rules of procedure for the Commission will be adopted. Officers of the Commission will be elected. A headquarters site and an executive secretary for the Commission will be selected. A Panel will be organized for each of the five subareas defined in the convention in order to keep under review the fisheries of that subarea and all scientific and other information relating thereto. In addition, since many fishery research biologists will be in attendance, it is possible that one or more informal technical seminars will be scheduled apart from the formal sessions of the Commission in order to discuss such general topics as "What scientific knowledge is lacking in the fisheries of the Northwest Atlantic and how should such knowledge be acquired?"

## **U.S. Contribution to U.N. Relief Works Agency for Palestine**

*[Released to the press by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. March 20]*

Ambassador Ernest A. Gross, acting representative of the United States to the United Nations, today announced the contribution to the United Nations of a check for \$5,250,000 representing a further contribution to the United Nations Relief Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. The contribution brings the total of United States contributions to \$24,450,000, out of \$27,450,000 pledged for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1951.

The contribution is separate and distinct from funds being sought for relief and integration of Palestine refugees in the Near East in negotiations conducted by a special committee of the General Assembly.

## **Communiqués Regarding Korea to the Security Council**

General Douglas MacArthur, Commander in Chief of United Nations command, has transmitted communiqués regarding Korea to the Secretary-General of the United Nations under the following United Nations document numbers:

S/2010, February 14; S/2011, February 14; S/2014, February 16; S/2019, February 21; S/2020, February 21; S/2022, February 26; S/2023, February 27; S/2024, February 27; S/2035, March 13; S/2036, March 13.

## The United States in the United Nations

[March 23–April 5, 1951]

### General Assembly

*Committee of Twelve.*—This Committee, which was set up by the General Assembly to consider the advisability of merging the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments, held its third meeting on March 28. At the outset of the meeting, the chairman, Djura Nincic (Yugoslavia) paid tribute to the late R. G. Riddell (Canada) who had been serving as permanent rapporteur of the Committee. Dr. J. M. A. H. Luns (Netherlands) was unanimously elected to replace Mr. Riddell.

The United States representative, Frank C. Nash, citing President Truman's statement on United Nations Day, as evidence of United States willingness to persist in the effort to solve the problem of armaments, stated that the United States intended to submit proposals on coordination of the two Commissions in line with the President's views. These proposals would deal with the status, membership, terms of reference, and the program of work of such a new committee or commission. He suggested that the Secretariat prepare a summary of the experience of the League of Nations in the field of disarmament. However, the Committee agreed to defer a decision on this suggestion until the next meeting, which will be called following the distribution of the United States working paper.

*Collective Measures Committee.*—The 14-member Committee held its third meeting on March 30. After general debate, the chairman, Mr. Muniz (Brazil) appointed a temporary 5-member subcommittee (Brazil, France, U.K., U.S., and Yugoslavia) to draw up a concrete plan to submit to the full Committee within 10 days. It was also instructed to draft recommendations on the question of addressing a communication to United Nations members to indicate what consideration they have given toward implementing the collective security provisions under section C of the uniting-for-peace resolution. These provisions recommend: (1) That member nations survey their resources to determine the nature and scope of aid they can give the United Nations in maintaining peace and security; (2) that member nations maintain special armed units for United Nations service.

### Economic and Social Council

*Transport and Communications Commission.*—The Commission concluded its fifth session, March 28, after adopting (10-0-3) its final report to the

Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc). This report contains a summary of the discussion on the various agenda items covering international travel, road transport, and shipping matters; a review of the Commission's past activities and accomplishments, and problems which are expected to continue in the future; and the following 11 resolutions: (1) Driver Licensing—Recommends to the Council that a small committee of experts be set up to advise the Commission whether the establishment of uniform minimum proficiency requirements for the licensing of motor vehicle drivers is desirable and to what extent it is possible. (2) Pollution of Sea Water—Recommends that the Governments possessing the necessary technical facilities be invited to undertake scientific studies on the subject and to communicate the results to the Secretary-General for appropriate handling. (3) Discrimination in Transport Insurance—Requests the Secretary-General to conduct a survey on the extent to which such restrictions are being applied and recommends that the Council ask the Governments to adopt "in so far as possible" a policy of nondiscrimination. (4) Unification of Maritime Tonnage Measurement—Recommends that this should be among the first problems to be considered by the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (Imco) when it has started to function. (5) Imco Convention—Notes "with satisfaction" that an inquiry would be made by the Secretary-General among the Governments which had not so far ratified the Convention. (6) Transport Statistics—Recommends that a statistical series on tonnage of goods loaded and net ton-kilometers performed by road motor vehicle transport be added to the existing statistical series. (7) Road accident statistics—Requests the Secretary-General to coordinate the work done on road accident statistics by various United Nations bodies. (8) Customs formalities for international road transport and touring—Recommends that the Secretary-General circulate to the Governments invited to the United Nations Conference on Road and Motor Transport held in Geneva in 1949 the draft International Customs Convention on Touring and request them to submit their views at the Commission's next session on the desirability of considering the conclusion, on a world-wide basis, of two conventions relating to customs formalities. (9) Transport of Dangerous Goods—Requests the Secretary-General to consult with all the organizations, both national and international, which are concerned with the subject to examine the various aspects of the problem such as classification, labeling, and packaging, with a view to making specific suggestions as to uniform regu-



lations in this matter covering the whole field of transport. (10) Coordination of Inland Transport—Requests the Secretary-General to make available to all regional bodies of the United Nations the results of the various studies made on this problem. (11) Passports and Frontier Formalities—Notes the report prepared by the Secretary-General and requests that he continue to follow the progress made in this field. In addition, that any general inquiry to the Governments on these matters should be postponed until after the Commission's sixth session.

*Ad Hoc Committee on Slavery.*—The special committee on slavery set up by the General Assembly in 1949, at the request of the Economic and Social Council, opened its second 4-week session on April 2. The four members on the Committee are Prof. Moises Poblete Troncoso (Chile), chairman; Senator Jane Vialle (France), Charles W. W. Greenidge (U.K.), and Bruno Lasker (U.S.). The following agenda was adopted: (1) Study and definition of slavery and other institutions or customs resembling slavery; evaluation of the nature and extent of these problems at the present time; (2) suggestions as to methods of attacking and resolving these problems; (3) adoption of the Committee's report to be submitted for consideration of the Council at its thirteenth session.

The Committee sent out a questionnaire on slavery to 83 nations and has received replies from 49 countries, 33 of which are members of the United Nations. In addition, the Committee will have at its disposal extensive information supplied by non-governmental organizations and private individuals. The remainder of the session will be closed.

#### Security Council

At the meeting on March 30, the Security Council adopted, by a vote of 8-0-3 (India, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia), the revised United Kingdom-United States resolution on Kashmir submitted on March 21. Sir Benegal N. Rau (India) stated his Government had no objection to a new United Nations representative visiting India and Pakistan "to make a fresh attempt to assist, by suggestion, advice and mediation, in determining how the proposals regarding demilitarization under the resolutions of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949 should be implemented, with due regard to the assurances given to my Government in connection therewith." However, his Government could not accept the resolution as a whole. He particularly objected (a) to the Preamble statement that the projected Kashmir Constituent Assembly in the Indian-controlled area of the state, and any action by this Assembly to pass upon the question of Kashmir's affiliation would be in conflict with the parties' commitments; (b) to the arbitration paragraph of the revised resolution, claiming it was a violation of the resolution of August 1948.

Statements strongly favoring the resolution

were made by the representatives of Brazil, Turkey, the Netherlands, Ecuador, France, and China, all of whom supported the concept of arbitration as a logical step in order to settle unresolved issues between the parties.

Ambassador Ernest A. Gross stated that the August 1948 and January 1949 resolutions provided a framework, not a complete plan, for accomplishing demilitarization and a plebiscite. The parties still had to develop and consider with the United Nations representative the details in order to honor their commitment to settle the issue of Kashmir's accession to India or Pakistan by a fair and impartial plebiscite under United Nations auspices. "If the parties do not agree upon these details in filling out the framework established by the two United Nations Commission resolutions," Mr. Gross said, "it will be because the parties give differing interpretations. In such a case, there must be some way of resolving the dilemma, and we have suggested arbitration as that way." The commitment of the parties and the legitimate interest of the Security Council in seeing this dispute settled did not stop with the two UNCTC resolutions, Mr. Gross declared. "They are not the end of the road." A procedure had to be found to enable "the parties to carry out their basic and ultimate commitment . . . to create the conditions whereby the people of Kashmir can vote without fear of intimidation upon the question of accession. If resort to arbitration of any matters which stand in the way of this result is objected to, how can the dangerous deadlock be broken?" The resolution, he said, had been offered in the "sincere belief that the Security Council must aid the parties to advance toward a solution of the dispute, by providing reasonable means through which issues, which the parties cannot themselves resolve, may be brought to a speedy and mutually acceptable solution."

Sir Gladwyn Jebb (U.K.) explained that his Government's approach was to concentrate on the principle that the future accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir should be settled by a United Nations plebiscite, held under conditions enabling a vote free from improper influence. He doubted that it would be fruitful for the Council to consider the Indian claim that legal accession had already taken place, since both parties had agreed to settle the accession question by a plebiscite. He urged that arbitration provides the only suitable means of determining points of disagreement between the parties.

Following the adoption of the resolution, Sir Mohammed Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan) advised that he had been instructed to accept the resolution on behalf of his Government and to voice its determination to afford the fullest cooperation to the United Nations representative and, if differences arose, to the arbitration formula.

Ambassador Daniel J. von Balluseck (Netherlands) continues as President of the Council during the month of April.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE

### Irregularities at Hong Kong Post— Four Foreign Service Dismissals

[Released to the press March 27]

Over a year ago, the Department of State received reports of irregularities in connection with the issuance of visas and citizen certificates at Hong Kong.

The then Deputy Under Secretary, John Peurifoy, sent inspectors to Hong Kong to look into the matter. Despite careful investigation, no evidences of irregularities were turned up. However, the post was kept under constant scrutiny by the Security Division and the Foreign Inspection Corps. Later, last summer, a second report came in to the Department from Consul General James R. Wilkinson, indicating that he felt that there were irregularities taking place and involving the office of Vice Consul John Wayne Williams but that he had not been able to develop evidence to substantiate his suspicions. The Consul General asked for help from the Department.

Deputy Under Secretary, Carl Humelsine, deputized Julian F. Harrington, a veteran Foreign Service officer, who has had wide experience in consular work, and sent him to Hong Kong to stay until the case was resolved one way or the other. As a result of Mr. Harrington's inspection, an admission of bribery was obtained from John Wayne Williams in that he had accepted money in the form of gifts or presents from persons outside the consulate to expedite visas to Chinese to visit the United States or transit the United States enroute to some other country. Mr. Harrington obtained a full confession from Mr. Williams, including the fact that he had accepted bribes and that the presents he had accepted totaled in the neighborhood of \$10,000.

In the course of Mr. Harrington's investigation, it developed that there were homosexual aspects to this case. In addition to Mr. Williams, three other homosexual cases were uncovered in Hong Kong. None of these three persons were found to be involved in the visa irregularities. After the Department secured their confessions, they were discharged.

Mr. Williams was immediately suspended in Hong Kong and ordered back to the Department. Upon his arrival in Washington, November 24, 1950, he was met by agents of the Security Division of the Department of State and interrogated by them for several days. A fuller confession was obtained from him, after which his services as a Foreign Service officer was terminated December 1, 1950.

On November 28, 1950, Deputy Under Secretary Humelsine turned this matter over to the Department of Justice for action and possible prosecution. The matter is under the jurisdiction of that Department and is being actively pursued.

In addition, the details were reported by Mr. Humelsine to the Chairmen of the Senate and House Subcommittees on Appropriations, Senator Pat McCarran and Representative John J. Rooney. Full details of the matter have been made a matter of record with the Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee during the recent hearings under the chairmanship of Representative John J. Rooney.

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<sup>1</sup> Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

The United Nations Secretariat has established an *Official Records series* for the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the Atomic Energy Commission; which includes summaries of proceedings, resolutions, and reports of the various commissions and committees. Publications in the *Official Records series* will not be listed in this department as heretofore, but information on securing subscriptions to the series may be obtained from the International Documents Service.

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